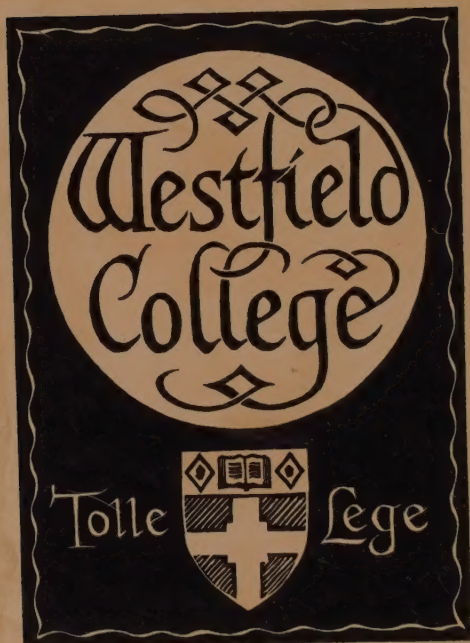


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H O M E R

THE ORIGINS

AND THE

TRANSMISSION

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AND THE

TRANSMISSION

BY

THOMAS W. ALLEN

FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE

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P R E F A C E

TIME was when I intended to write a book on Homer, a continuous book which should cover the whole subject and solve the whole question—his age, personality, method, theme; the heroic age, the Achaeans, the Trojans and the war with them. As time went on I was discouraged by the failure, so it seemed to me, of my contemporaries, English and foreign, and by the discovery of my own incapacity. I should like to put this last down to the drawbacks of the teaching profession (which are real) and the tutor's rusty pen. But I cannot conceal from myself that I might have overcome these obstacles had I been more of what literary people call in their own case a creative artist. My ambition has long ago faded, but I have from time to time published articles on details of the Homeric Question, and thinking that if these were collected they would be more effective and also disclose something like a unity of view, I now reissue them, revised and augmented.

My aim has been on the topics I have chosen to once more collect the evidence and interpret it. This is a process from time to time necessary in every science, at least in science dealing with historical past. It is particularly desirable at this moment in classical philology, when the 'literature' has long since buried the originals. As in a high valley repeated avalanches have built a thick roof of old yellow snow and the torrent flows in a choked stream many metres below, so the accretions of the professorial

mind require removal before we can contemplate the source.

This simile applies to the whole study of classical antiquity, but pre-eminently to that of Homer, where the development of theory during the nineteenth century will provide a future psychologist with strange data for the study of the aberration of intellect. The first check to this unreality was given by archaeology; on archaeology we wait for more and perhaps complete light. In the meantime I have restated the traditional evidence. From one duty, that of combating current views on early religion, I have been relieved by Dr. Farnell's recent book *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921.

The removal of 'literature' and the neglect of the principles of investigation imposed upon us these hundred years has led with me to remarkable results, namely the discredit of contemporary method and the rehabilitation of tradition. With whatever refraction and inaccuracy classical and mediaeval mentality present to us the ancient world, the image produced by modern philological method is more distorted, and is in fact in most cases completely false. The reasoning applied to ancient records in the last hundred years is not only baseless, but it has cumbered the old world with lumber which makes the study of it a difficult and certainly most tedious matter. The repulsive jargon in which ancient history and literary criticism are conveyed, the narrow outlook, low vision and ignorance of human nature and the human mind—its working and possibilities—have turned classical philology into ridicule. And since classical philology for the last century has been essentially the product of one nation, the blame for this state of things cannot but be laid at the door of the Germans. It is not to overlook their merits and services in the collection and arrangement of material, and their capacity for soul-

destroying and sometimes futile labour, if we laugh at their conclusions and the mental machinery which produces them.¹ Recent events have shown how erroneous German psychology, the intuition of the feelings of other nations, is; and if they are so removed from the truth when their contemporaries are in question, how can it be supposed that they should recapture a world three thousand years away? Their principles are a *trompe-l'œil*, their methodology a rigmarole. We have suffered too long under them.

March 1923.

¹ Professor J. A. Scott has been at the trouble to descend into the den and slay these plaster lions: see chapters 3, 4, and 5 of *The Unity of Homer*, Berkeley, California, 1921. He says, p. 152, 'Wolf, Lachmann, Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, and a long list of famous names have done much to convince the world that German erudition is blind and stupid, bent on making false facts in order to support a false theory'. His tender mercy dictated 'much'.

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A. ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

LIVES OF HOMER

Ogni strada men'a Roma. The roads which lead to Homer are nearly as many. One of them, not hitherto the most followed, runs through the literature of the historical centuries. I say historical, but in doing so I use a term and make a distinction unknown to antiquity.¹ To the ancients Homer was as historical as Pindar, the people of whom he sang as historical as Pindar's patrons, often their descendants. The *μυθῶδες* or untrue element which the Greeks noticed in their poetry did not touch the individuals or the events; it was detected in violation of ascertained natural laws, such as the divine interference in ordinary life and the three daily tides of Charybdis. In the Antonine age Artemidorus the Asiatic Greek made three categories of historic truth, which it is worth while reproducing: *Oneirocr.* iv. 47 μέμνησο δὲ ὅτι τῶν ιστοριῶν μόναίς σοι προσεκτέον ταῖς πάνυ πεπιστευμέναις ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων τεκμηρίων ὅτι εἰσὶν ἀληθεῖς, ὡς τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ καὶ ἔτι ἄνωθεν τῷ Τρωικῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις. τούτων γὰρ καὶ ἐναυλίσματα δείκνυται καὶ τόποι παρατάξεως καὶ στρατοπέδων καθιδρύσεις καὶ πόλεων κτίσεις καὶ βωμῶν ἀναστάσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ. Next come αἱ πολυθρύλλητοι καὶ πρὸς τῶν πλείστων πεπιστευμέναι as about Prometheus, Niobe καὶ τῶν τραγῳδουμένων ἕκαστον. Thirdly the παντελῶς ἐξίτηλα καὶ φλυαρίας καὶ λήρου μεστά like the Spartoi at Thebes, the Colchoi, &c. Homer to Artemidorus is as well within history as he is to Thucydides.

¹ Herodotus iii. 122 sees a difference between Minos and Polycrates. Polycrates was a member τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης λεγομένης γενεῆς.

It is the modern world which has set a gulf the other side of Archilochus or Terpander beyond which human beings are not found and all we descry is Gods in the making, bloody rites and commercial movements that have come down to us under a false anthropomorphic and individualistic guise. We should shake off these contemporary prepossessions and realize that the Greek world before 700 was not lit by corpse-candles, a dim field of legal fictions, fading Gods, eponymous and heraldic ancestors, but as material and positive as Phidon with his weights and measures and Solon with his code, as human and positive as the buildings, jewels, and vessels which the prae-Dorian age has left us, and as the Cretan, Hittite, and Egyptian civilizations thousands of years before that. Our ignorance of Lycurgus differs only in degree from our knowledge of Pisistratus, increasing in proportion to lapse of time and such accidental circumstances as the absence of written records.

If modern writing has made it hard to realize that the centuries before 700 resembled the centuries after, we may at all events build upon the period which even the moderns allow to have been peopled by human beings. There are two centuries, going back from Pindar—whose flesh-and-blood existence has not yet been called in question—of written record, in which we do not find Homer. Homer is spoken of, followed, completed, but he is not there himself. He was earlier, he is looked back to. If therefore we can define the dates of this younger period we obtain a *terminus ante quem* for Homer. I endeavour to do this in my first four chapters.

The most obvious province of this kind is the literature known as the Epic Cycle, which contained the history of the Heroic Age, that is its two great undertakings—it had no other history—the interstate double Theban war, ‘for the sheep of Oedipus’, as Hesiod says, and the international siege of Troy, for Menelaus’ wife. The Homeric Hymns, though vaguer in time and all but traditionless, chime in;

the oldest of them is contemporary with the greater and older Cyclic poems (p. 65). The same may be said of Eumelus and the Corinthian metrical historians, and of an earlier and more important witness, because extant in some quantity, the school of Hesiod, rival to that of Homer.

First, however, I consider the Lives of Homer. These documents, seldom opened now, unless some folklorist plunders them for an *Εἰρεσιώνη* or a *Κάμινος*, were once part of the arsenal of learning. Editors of Homer from Chalcondylas to Ernesti printed them at the head of the poet, herein only following the Byzantine use. The Eastern Empire had the habit of amassing grammatical, metrical, exegetical, and biographical erudition, believed necessary for the comprehension of the poet,¹ and arranging it at the beginning of the poems. The value of these collections differed, as we may see if we compare the prolegomena to the oldest MS. of the scholia minora (Vitt. Eman. 6, s. ix-x, the 'codex Mureti') with those of the families *s* and *x*. The scholia minora, in other words a glossary, open f. 2 r. (where the MS. begins) with a list of Gods, kings, and other epic personages,² continue with the sixth life, (f. 3 r.) a list of the Aristarchean signs, and end (f. 3 v.) with the section *ἡ δοκοῦσα ἀρχαία ἱλιάς κτλ.* first printed by Osann, and the argument to book *A*. Desiccated and disjointed information to inform the pupils of Photius! On the other hand the families *s* and *x* once possessed the Proclan prose version of the whole Cycle (see p. 52).

Whether this habit was common to the late classical age we cannot tell, since hardly one papyrus presents the beginning of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. In any case it was the latest period of classicism which consulted the ease of the reader

¹ Even in the ancient world Plutarch says (*vit. Hom.* i. 1) ἐπεὶ ὡς πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων παιδεύεσθαι χρήσιμος ἢ πολυπειρία, πειρασόμεθα εἰπεῖν ὅσα ιστόρηται τοῖς παλαιοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Ὁμήρου], and Choerobosc. *prol. in Hephaestionis enchirid.* § 6 says ὥφειλε δὲ προτάττεσθαι τὸ παρὸν σύγγραμμα ὡς τινὲς φασὶ πρὸ παντὸς ἑμμέτρου συγγράμματος καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ἰλιάδος. In point of fact metrical prolegomena are frequent in the Byzantine MSS.

² Given in Piccolomini, *Hermes*, 1890, p. 452, n. 3.

Homer was born at Smyrna of Cretheis or Critheis upon the banks of the river Meles, travelled about Ithaca and Leucas, returned to Colophon, where he lost his sight. The rest of his life he passed in Smyrna, Cyme, Neon Teichos, Phocaea, Chios, Samos, and Ios where he died.

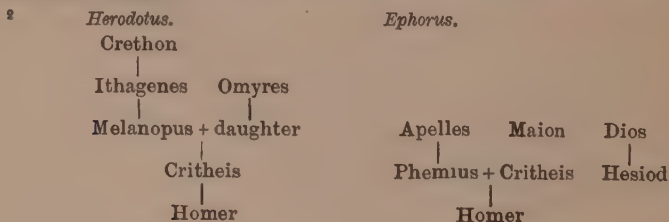
The language, Ionic, is no factor in the problem of the authorship. The dialect is late, according to Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 117. Ionic was used in late literature by many doctors and a considerable number of post-Augustan historians, e.g. by Arrian for his *Indica* (while his *Anabasis* is in Attic, cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* ii. 995), and in portions of Lucian. The writer of the life merely followed Herodotus. We must look at his opinions.

He makes Smyrna the birthplace of Homer, and (c. 47) argues that he was an Aeolian, i.e. not a Chian (which counted as Ionian) or Ietan, on the ground of language (*πεμπώβολα*) and institutions (the omission to utilize the *δσφύς* of the victim). He holds that Smyrna was founded from Cyme; this, however, was the general opinion. Cyme and Lesbos were the mothers of thirty towns according to Strabo (622); the opposite view that Smyrna was founded from Ephesus is mentioned by Strabo (634) without authority; the Ephesian Artemidorus, one of his principal sources, no doubt maintained it. The writer shows a detailed knowledge of Aeolis, and seems to be the only authority for the statement that Neon Teichos was founded by the Cymaeans, eight years after their own settlement (Strabo 621 made it the original Aeolic settlement, earlier than Cyme), for the mountain *Σαιδηνή* above Neon Teichos (mentioned elsewhere only in the poems he cites; Steph. Byz. clearly quotes from him), for the iron-works at Cebren, which town the Cymaeans were thinking of founding (Ephorus fr. 22 agrees in the Cymaeian origin of Cebren), the localities shown at Neon Teichos in connexion with Homer, the survival for a long time of the *Κάμινος* or *Κεραμείς* in the *ἀγερμός* at Samos (c. 32), and the *Ἀπατούρια* and worship of *Κουροτρόφος* at that place (cc. 29, 30).

Moreover at the end he gives some very precise chronological details: Lesbos was settled in towns 130 years after the Trojan war; twenty years after this Cyme was colonized; from the birth of Homer to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes (this era was chosen in character, as by Herodotus) 622 years passed; from the Trojan war to the birth of Homer was 168 years. On the last date the MSS. vary between 168 and 160; the latter is given by Cassius (? Longinus) ap. Gell. xvii. 21. 3 (cf. *F. H. G.* iii. 688) and, without authority, by Philostratus, *Heroic.* xviii. 2 = 318 = 194.13 and Cyril, in *Iulian.* vii, p. 225 Aubert. It came between Aristarchus' 140 years and Philochorus' 180. The reference to archons points to a professional chronologer like Philochorus, who gave ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Ἀρχίππου as the exact date, whence the Tzetzean life of Hesiod c. 2.¹

We depend upon the local knowledge and must ask who was likely to possess it. The great man of Cyme was Ephorus. In his ἐπιχόριος he dealt with the story of Homer (*vit. Plut.* 2); Homer's short stemma, his parentage, and the meaning of his name are quoted. The latter part of the Ephorean stemma is not the same as the Herodotean.² This difference seems enough to disprove Ephorus' authorship, and to it we may add two arguments from probability. If Ephorus treated the Homer-legend in his ἐπιχόριος, he can hardly have written a life of Homer also; and the infantine tone and diffuseness of the Herodotean life does not resemble what we know of Ephorus. No one will wish to go back to Hippias and Stesimbrotus. More is to be

¹ Hiller, *Rhein. Mus.* xxv. 253, holds that Cyril's chronological statements are taken from Eusebius. The figure (160) does not appear in the lists in Tatian and Clement.



said for Cephalion of Gergithus (*F. H. G.* iii. 68 sqq., 625 sqq.). There appear to have been two Cephaliones, one of whom wrote *Τρωικά*, or an account of the geography and history of the Troad (like Demetrius of Scepsis, Attalus I and Histiaeus), and is quoted by Augustan and Antoninian writers, being really a cloak for Hegesianax who lived under Antiochus the Great. This shadowy person was called of Gergithus. Another of his name under Hadrian wrote *παντοδαπαῖς ἱστορίαι* of the sort of Conon and Hephaestion, and was a source for the Byzantine annalists Syncellus and Malalas. He survived till the day of Photius who analyses him (cod. 68). According to the article in Suidas he also was a Gergithian. This article is currently accused of conflation, but it is to be observed that there is nothing in it inconsistent with the second Cephalion except his birthplace.¹ Suidas does not ascribe *Τρωικά* to him or make him an ambassador to Rome. According to Photius he himself concealed his birthplace and parentage, after the model of Homer. He also gave himself out to be an exile in Sicily. It is therefore not certain that Suidas' ascription of Gergithus to him is wrong. This history according to Photius was in nine books, called after the nine Muses, and in Ionic. This is in imitation of Herodotus. Moreover in his tenth book he included, according to Photius, 'the history of Cephalion'.² This at first sight means the *Τρωικά*

¹ Κεφαλίων ἢ Κεφάλων, Γεργίθιος· ῥήτωρ καὶ ἱστορικός, γεγωνὺς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ. ἔφυγε δὲ τὴν πατρίδα δι' ἀπέχθειαν δυναστῶν καὶ ἐβίω ἐν Σικελίᾳ. ἔγραψε παντοδαπὰς ἱστορίας ἐν βιβλίοις θ', αἵτινα ἐπιγράφει Μούσας, Ἰάδι διαλέκτῳ, μελέτας τε ῥητορικὰς καὶ ἄλλα τινά. The μελέται ῥητορικαὶ may cover the Life.

² Photius, cod. 68 ἀνεγνώσθη Κεφαλίωνος σύντομον ἱστορικόν· ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμειος καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνων. συμπεραίνεται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἱστορία ἐν λόγοις θ' κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν τῶν θ' Μουσῶν. . . . ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἰωνίζων καὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος πλέον τῇ συντομίᾳ ἀποχρώμενος, οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι καὶ ζηλωσαι ἐνδεικνύμενος πλὴν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθήσεως. οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρίδα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνός φησιν, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ἀποσιωπᾷ, ὅτι δὲ διατρίβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ φυγῆς ἔνεκα τὴν ἱστορίαν συνέταξεν ἀποφαίνεται, τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, πατρίδα εἰπεῖν καὶ γένος, παρεῖς, τὸ δὲ καὶ μικροψυχίαν ἐμφαίνον ἐν μνήμῃ πεποιηκώς. καὶ τὸ ἐκ τόσων δὲ καὶ τόσων συνειλέχθαι αὐτῷ τὴν ἱστορίαν σεμνύνεσθαι οὐ πάννυ ψυχῆς τὸ μικρολόγον τε καὶ τὴν παιδαριώδη φιλοτιμίαν ἀποσειομένης ἀπόδειξις.

of his namesake; and as his ninth book treated of Alexander there is an obvious reason why he should have incorporated the Trojan discourse of the elder Cephalion. If he, like the elder Cephalion, was a Gergithian, the origin of the local information in the *Life* is clear. Cephalion either knew it from personal observation or stole it from his namesake's *Τρωικά*. One who had copied Herodotus' dialect and his nine Muses would easily go one step further and write a life of Homer under Herodotus' name. Photius condemns his childish pretence of learning; the childish prolixity of the *Life*, together with its well-furnished sources, is obvious. This information would be extant in the Antonine period, the age of Lucian and Philostratus. It was also the age of anecdotic history and Homeric mythology. We need I think not look further for the author of the Herodotean life.

The quotations of the *Life* are late (Stephanus of Byzantium and Philoponus). The allusion in Tatian is doubtful. It contains beside the epigraphical and archaeological details we have mentioned twenty-eight verse quotations, the so-called Homeric Epigrams, which are often believed to have an independent existence. Of these eight come from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; one is according to the author the beginning of the *Ilias parva*; two profess to be epitaphs (that on Midas¹ was claimed for Cleobulus of Lindos), two are popular songs, the *Κάμινος* or *Κεραμείς* (attributed to Hesiod by Pollux) and the *Εἰρεσιώνη*. The remaining fifteen are not popular or epigraphic or of known source. They constitute a considerable problem. They are in good epic Greek, without Alexandrianism or mysticism. Some of the lines were utilized by Sophocles (Athen. 592 A). Now as the writer draws on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to supply his hero with utterances it might be supposed that these fifteen deliverances came from other but lost epics, namely the Cycle. But on inspection it looks improbable

¹ How the author reconciled this epitaph, written for Midas' sons, with his date 168 or 160 years after the Troica, is not clear.

that they ever stood in a different context from that in which they now find themselves. It would be very difficult to force αἰδεῖσθε ξενίων (101), or οἷη μ' αἶσση (173), or κλυθὶ Ποσειδάων (235) into any part of the Tale of Thebes or Troy; and the other verses if less unamenable do not suggest of themselves a heroic context. The verses, in fact, seem to be concerned with nothing but what they ostensibly convey, the Life of Homer. They appear to come all from one poem on that subject. Cephalion (or the author of the Life) seems to have written a prose history out of this poem, incorporating portions which recommended themselves. Similarly the Orphic compiler of the Berlin Papyrus 44 worked in verses here and there from the extant Homeric Hymn. The poem was eminently local, and contained most of the geographical data which we have noticed: the foundation of Neon Teichos from Cyme (102, for Pauw's emendation *Κύμης* is probable); Σαϊδηνή (103), the foundation of Smyrna from Cyme (175, 176); the worship of Poseidon on Helicon (236); the prophecy of iron at Cebren (285). Cephalion limits himself to comments on these texts. The poem may or may not have contained the *Κάμινος* or *Κεραμεῖς* (439); but as Pollux states it was attributed to Hesiod it apparently had an independent existence, and this is slightly confirmed by its mention in the Suidean list of Homer's works (46, ed. Oxf.). We then assume an autobiographical poem, full of local details. Did this poem come down to Cephalion's time and was it used by him directly? That a vast mass of heroic verse existed in Cephalion's age, which is the age of Pausanias and Athenaeus, is obvious; still there is no explicit mention of any poem which could be this. It is therefore probable it was known to Cephalion through the earlier *mémoristes*, for instance Stesimbrotus. The parody of part of it by Sophocles suggests it was current in the fifth century. Similarly the compiler of the *Certamen* took over his quotations from Alcidamas, as Alcidamas in his turn probably took them from a predecessor.

To this autobiographical poem we shall return (p. 27); the next document to be considered is the *Certamen*. This singular composition, discovered by Stephanus in what is still the unique fourteenth-century MS. at Florence, has been most recently explained by Adolf Busse (*Rh. Mus.* 1909, 108). It consists of three parts: a Life of Homer, the Agon proper, and a third part composed of a Life of Hesiod and a Life of Homer. The Life of Homer comes from the same source as the other Lives: its stemma is the same as the Characean and the Proclan; and these are all slightly varying representations of the genealogy of Damastes (p. 32). The compiler therefore used the *ὑπόμνημα* which is the basis of all the Lives (p. 33). The original of the central portion, the *Μουσείον* of Alcidas, was still extant in the time of Stobaeus, who quotes 81, 82 from it.¹ A portion of it, of a much earlier date, was discovered among the Flinders Petrie papyri (s. iii B. C.). The composer of the *Certamen* does not name himself, but by a reference to an oracle given *ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ* (32, 33) defines his age *a parte priore*. This author, unlike Herodotus, quotes: the writers he quotes are Hellanicus, Cleanthes the Stoic, Eugaeon,² Callicles,³ Democritus⁴ of Troezen, Eratosthenes, and Alcidas *ἐν Μουσείῳ*. None of these is late. In the third part the compiler uses the

¹ There is no difficulty in believing the reference to concern the original Agon and not our document. Rhetorical exercises by Gorgias and Alcidas are still extant, and Tzetzes, *Chil.* xi. 750, declares he had read 'many' of the latter's *λόγοι*.

² *F. II. G.* ii. 16; dated by Dion. Hal. as *πρὸ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου*. His *ᾠροὶ Σαμίων* is to be noticed as an instance of one source of the tradition about Homer.

³ No independent notice of Callicles exists. He seems to have been a Cypriote, since his candidate as Homer's father Masagoras here is evidently the same as Dmasagoras favoured by Alexander of Paphos (*vit.* vii. 2, 10). If this is so he is the authority for the statement, *Cert.* 30, that his father was given as a hostage by the *Cyprians* to the Persians. He made him a Cyprian Salaminian *vit.* vi. 17. He was probably earlier than Antipater (*vit. Plut.* i. 89).

⁴ Democritus of Troezen must disappear. *Δημόκριτος* here is an error for the rarer name, which is preserved *vit.* vi. 28, schol. B 744.

original of the life of Hesiod repeated successively by Proclus (this has perished) and Tzetzes (extant), as well as the Homeric life. He conveys much learned information: the beginnings and stichometry of the *Thebais* and *Epigoni*—a method of classification implying access to the *πίνακες* of Callimachus, which we find used in the Antoninian period by Athenaeus;¹ the stichometry of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, a version with variants of *B* 559 sqq., Delian anecdotes (from Semus?), such as that Homer recited the hymn to Apollo standing on the *κεράτινος βωμός*, and that the Delians inscribed his verses on a *λεύκωμα* in the temple of Artemis. He equates Homer's period with Midas and Medon, king of Athens. Whether all this erudition came from the *ὑπόμνημα*, or the compiler added thereto *de suo*, we cannot tell. For the post of compiler I suggested (ed. p. 185) Porphyrius. The anterior time-limit cuts out most of the smaller grammarians whose names we know: the austerity of Apollonius and Herodian cannot be suspected, the book is too erudite in form for a sophist. Philostratus, *Heroic.* 318, alludes to the story, but whether to our *Certamen* or to its source we cannot tell. The great Homeric activity of Porphyrius draws the book as by suction into its track. Porphyrius had learned friends, such as Castricius Firmus. If two centuries later Proclus wrote a life of Homer, his predecessor in the school, or one of his disciples, might have composed this mixture of erudition and rhetoric (as Porphyrius wrote his well-found life of Pythagoras). Still the field is open, and grammarians were innumerable, for instance Hermogenes, whose epitaph (*C. I. G.* ii. 1. 3311) says *συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία . . . περὶ Ζμύρνης α'β', περὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου σοφίας α' καὶ πατρίδος α'* (Schrader, *Porph. qu. Il.* p. 441), or Cassius Longinus, teacher of Porphyrius under Aurelian, who wrote several Homeric works (*Suid.* in v., cf. p. 16), or especially Oenomaus of Gadara, earlier than

¹ Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 164; cf. first lines without figures in *Anonymi vita Aristotelis*, *Did.* p. 14 *ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀρχὴ ἀγνὸς θεῶν πρέσβισθ' ἐκατηβόλε, ἐλεγεία ὦν ἀρχὴ καλλιτέχνων μητρὸς θύγατερ.*

Eusebius who quotes from him the verses ὄλβιε καὶ δύσδαιμον (*vit. Plut.* i. 4) in the *Praep. Evang.* v. 227 c.

The Agon proper, which seems to have been incorporated faithfully—since the papyrus fragment does not differ materially from the fourteenth-century MS.—contains a number of verses recited alternately by Hesiod and Homer: καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀπαντήσαντος [τοῦ Ὀμήρου], ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμφιβόλους γνώμας ὥρμησεν ὁ Ἡσίοδος, καὶ πλείονας στίχους λέγων ἡξίου καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον συμφώνως ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Ἡσιόδου, ὁ δὲ ἐξῆς Ὀμήρου, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ δύο στίχων τὴν ἐπερώτησιν ποιούμενον τοῦ Ἡσιόδου. That is to say, Hesiod propounded one line, or two lines, apparently absurd, as

οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀνδρός τ' ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνάλκιδός ἐστι,

which Homer set right by the simple addition

μητρός, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος χαλεπὸς πάσῃσι γυναιξίν.

In other words the couplets constituted a kind of γρίφος with solution. The presumption would follow either that Alcidas wrote all the verses himself (a supposition hardly likely in itself and which would rob the dialogue of most of its point), or that he selected lines which lent themselves to his purpose from the Cycle (since none of them occur in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) and Hesiod. We should therefore have to add the first verse in most cases, the first two in some, to the fragments of Hesiod, the last to the fragments of Homer. The author made an early cento of a griphic character. That the Agon was griphic is the view of Busse, *l.c.*, who cites Clearchus ap. Ath. 457 D προέβαλλον γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς πότους οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν ἐρωτῶντες ἀλλήλους... ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰς τοιαύτας [ζητήσεις], τῷ πρώτῳ ἔπος ἢ ἱαμβεῖον εἰπόντι τὸ ἐχόμενον ἕκαστον λέγειν, καὶ τῷ κεφάλαιον εἰπόντι ἀντειπεῖν τὸ ἐτέρου ποιητοῦ τινας. There is a resemblance between the Agon and these old Greek parlour-games, but not a strong one.

There are two difficulties at least in accepting this view:
(1) first the couplet 107, 108

δείπνον ἔπειθ' εἶλοντο βοῶν κρέα καύχενας ἵππων
ἔκλυον ἰδρώοντας ἐπεὶ πολέμοιο κορέσθην

is cited by Aristophanes, *Peace* 1282, with a slight variant. Aristophanes is older than Alcidamas. Therefore either Alcidamas' statement that the couplets are composed of unconnected Hesiodic and Homeric lines is entirely untrue, or the cento is a fifth-century work quoted by Aristophanes and appropriated by Alcidamas.¹ It appears to me unlikely that Aristophanes should have put part of a fifth-century cento into the mouth of his boy. As Busse himself remarks, 115, 116 are certainly indecent, and 117 ambiguous. They would be unsuitable for children to commit to heart, whatever lessons of style they might convey. Moreover effective parody, which is Aristophanes' object, consists in the quotation of passages really occurring in familiar works, not of lines invented, or artificially brought together, by a compiler.

Further, the passage of the *Peace* in which 107, 108 occur consists of a series of heroic hexameters put in the mouth of a παῖς who has learned them at school. We are to understand therefore that they belong to the stock of heroic poetry on which youth was fed. The first (1270) is the beginning of the *Erigoni* of Antimachus of Teos: the next, 1273, 1274, and 1276, are common lines in the *Iliad*; the couplet in question follows; then 1286, 1287 not in our Homer but in good heroic Greek. The presumption evidently is that the fourth and fifth quotations, like the first three, are from the heroic *corpus*: in fact since the scholiast who identifies 1270 says nothing about them, I

Isocrates' words, *Panath.* 18 = 236 d ἔλεγον ὡς ἐν τῷ Λυκίῳ συγκαθεζόμενοι τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες τῶν ἀγελαίων σοφιστῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι καὶ ταχέως πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων διαλέγοντο περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, οὐδὲν μὲν παρ' αὐτῶν λέγοντες τὰ δ' ἐκείνων βαψφοδούντες καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἄλλοις τισὶν εἰρημένων τὰ χαριέστατα μνημονεύοντες, suggest a similar occupation.

presume he left it to be understood that they also came from the *Epigoni*. If now the first couplet in the Contest—107, 108—is transparently not a blend of Hesiod and Homer, the same must hold of all the others, failing specific proof of the contrary. Alcidas' statement is a blind, a literary fable to introduce his exercise. It is not difficult to see what the intention of the exercise was, and why these particular verses were put into the mouths of the characters. The rhetor, himself a stylist of the first rank, intended to pass a veiled criticism on the style of the post-Homeric epopoei, in particular on the ambiguity of many of their lines taken in themselves: the fault he censured was the failure to include the elements of predication within the stichus. If we examine the couplets, we see that the first line read by itself conveys an absurdity which is set right by the apparition of the second. Thus 107 makes the heroes eat horseflesh, 108 by providing a new verb removes *αὐχένας ἵππων* from the government of *εἴλοντο*. (Meyer and Busse think the lines can never have stood in a heroic poem on account of the *hysteron proteron*. But this, according to me, and perhaps the *crasis* also, accounted for their selection.) Line 133 *τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὔχετο πᾶσιν ὀλέσθαι* is mitigated by the long-deferred appearance of *μηδέ ποτ' ἐν πόντῳ* in 134. Line 131 credits some heroic force with capacity beyond that of Xerxes' host, 122 alarms us with the 'white bones of dead Zeus'. The rhetor castigated these faults of technique by exhibiting the first line in the guise of a puzzle to be solved by the other competitor. The efforts of rhapsodes to ease the grammar and elucidate the sense of Homer himself were a principal cause of the accretions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, accretions which the Alexandrians found their most profitable occupation in removing.

We conclude that Alcidas used the traditional contest between Homer and Hesiod as a vehicle to convey criticism on badly composed verses of the heroic *corpus*. The interesting question follows: where do these verses come

from? None of them occurs in Homer or Hesiod as we have them; the Masters presumably were sacred. The presumption is that the remainder came from the general Hesiodic *corpus* and the Cycle. Vv. 107, 108, as we have noticed, may have come from the *Epigoni*. The sentiment of 114 resembles *Il. parv.* 2. A few further suggestions may be made. Vv. 121-3, the burial of Sarpedon: no poem is known to deal with this subject separately. The verses may come from a fuller version of *II* (i.e. at 683). The accumulation of genitives betrays the forger. 124-6, which are retrospective, and recall § 468 sqq., would find a place in the *Νόστοι*, or the *Τηλεγονία*: the Atrides who (133-7) contrived to make a double *gaffe* can only be Menelaus receiving Paris, i.e. in the *Cypria*. The rest I cannot guess at, but the apparent imputation on Artemis' virtue (117) comes from Hesiod, if not from Eumelus (Apollod. iii. 100).

(2) The second objection to believing the Agon to be a cento, whether of the fifth or the fourth century, is this: the problem set by Hesiod to Homer immediately before the series of couplets begins, viz.

μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι τά τ' ἔόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἔόντα
τῶν μὲν μηδὲν αἶειδε, σὺ δ' ἄλλης μνήσαι ἀοιδῆς,

with Homer's answer,

οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι
ἄρματα συντρίψουσιν ἐρίζοντες περὶ νίκης,

is given with verbal variants¹ by Plutarch, *sept. sap. conv.* 153 F on the authority of Lesches. One Lesches and one

¹ The Plutarchean μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κείνα defends the μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι of the *Certamen*, which has been misunderstood. The five lines are supposed to be the beginning of a poem, not a literal challenge to Homer; σὺ δ' is the usual call to the Muse. The construction τά τ' ἔόντα . . . τῶν μὲν μηδὲν reads natural, and is only an extension of Z 147 φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει κτλ., a partitive being interposed between the accusative and the verb. Cf. also the *Carmen aureum* 17 ὅσσά τε δαιμονίησι τύχαις βροτοὶ ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν | ὦ. ἂν μοῖραν ἔχῃς πρῶως φέρε μῆδ' ἀγανάκτει.

only is known to history.¹ He rests on the respectable evidence of Phantias the Peripatetic, who makes him a native of Pyrrha in Lesbos and a rival of Arctinus (see p. 63). He has fared badly at the hands of the learned. Karl Robert resolved him into the man of the λέσχη and was chidden for doing so by Wilamowitz. The bold attempt and the rebuke alike deserve record. *Au pays des aveugles le borgne est roi*. Similarly, the circumstance that Pausanias calls him Λέσχεως and not Λέσχης has been held to show that Pausanias lied when he said he read him. But *Τυνδαρεύς*, *Τυνδάρεως*, *Τυνδάρης*, *Πανδαρεύς*, *Πανδάρεως*, *Πανδαρής*, *Νειλεύς*, *Νείλεως* are well attested, and Aristarchus' reading ἄρεω, Σ 100, implied a nominative ἄρεως for ἄρης. We have therefore Λέσχης, Λεσχεύς, Λέσχεως. Should a second Lesches appear in a document this argument will succeed. Pending such a resurrection this theoretical tribute to method is sterile. We must deal with the evidence which exists without foregone conclusions.

Lesches, one and indivisible, could only write verse. Prose was not in his day. He therefore narrated the contest between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis in a poem from which Plutarch quoted in the first century after Christ, and out of which Alcidas, centuries before, composed his *Μουσεῖον*. Lesches, then, beside the *Ἰλιάς μικρά*, composed a pious poem on his Master's life. Such another poem, of the Hesiodic school, was that from which Hes. fr. 265 (the victory of Hesiod over Homer, not at Chalcis but at Delos) was drawn, as it would seem, by Philochorus. It is not certain that the couplets 107 sqq. of the *Certamen* formed part of Lesches' poem, for Plutarch's reference covers only 97-101. Lesches' day also was so early that he had only, so far as we can prove, Arctinus and Antimachus, author of the *Epigoni*, to criticize: we may add the *Thebais* (as older than Callinus) and

¹ The name is restored λ]εσ[χης in Boeckh's *Corpus* ii. 2338. 54. Suidas has Λεσχίδης in v.: we also find λεσχεύς *I. G.* xiii. 9. 191 b 29, 245 b 381; Λεσχίνας *I. G.* ix. 2. 517. 37; λεσχος *C. I. A.* 963. 56; λεσσχων *I. G. Sept.* 1888 f.

the *Cypria* (see p. 62). Certainly it is more than probable that the professionals of the eighth century did criticize each other, and sharply, as Pindar and Bacchylides exchanged courtesies two hundred years later, and Theognis corrected his poetical brethren. It would be contrary to all we know of the bardic nature if the Homeridae and Hesiodae spared each other:

καὶ πῶχ' ὅς πτωχῶ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῶ,

and it is possible that in these couplets we have an echo of attacks made by the younger cyclic poet on his predecessors, on the ground of their stylistic ambiguities.

It seems, then, safe to say that the tradition of the rivalry between the Homeric and Hesiodic schools can be traced to a Lesbian cyclic poet of the eighth century.¹ A poem also appeared to be the source of the Herodotean life. The Lesbian poem contained a contest in amoebean verse: it was probably only an episode in the poetical life of Homer. In the fourth century Alcidamas, whose interest was in style, expanded the incident into a rhetorical exercise conveying criticism on the post-Homeric epopoei. That he repeated Lesches' couplets cannot be proved, but it seems not improbable.

In the last volume of Plutarch's dreary *Moralia* is to be found a lengthy treatise entitled περὶ 'Ομήρου or Πλουτάρχου εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ 'Ομήρου. It consists of two parts, one short, the other long. The contents of both are nearly entirely grammatical; each begins with a short life. Various ancient authors, Galen first, attest that Plutarch wrote μελέται 'Ομηρικαί, and Stobaeus gives considerable extracts therefrom. Modern scholars who have investigated the matter consider that these two treatises represent the

¹ These conclusions were, I believe, reached independently. I see on reference that the idea of a poem of some antiquity as the source of the *Certamen* is countenanced by Bergk, *Gr. Literaturgesch.* i. 930, 931; Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36. 566, 567; E. Meyer, *Hermes* 27. 379, 380. For the view that these and similar couplets were originally trials of strength between magicians see Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 1913, p. 73.

μελέται, but that they were put into shape and provided with biographical introductions—to gild the pill—by some one else. I can believe anything of Plutarch, and see no reason why the intolerable quality of these books may not be laid at his door. The question has little interest for the Homeric Lives, for the biographies are palpable additions. They are, however, very valuable, and, according to the verdict of criticism, date from the same period as the *Certamen*. The first life contains the views, on the parentage and birth of Homer, of Ephorus ἐν ἐπιχωρίῳ, and Aristotle ἐν ᾧ περὶ ποιητικῆς: it also collects some oracles and epigrams. The second, which is short, resembles the anonymous lives and gives a catalogue of authorities—Pindar, Simonides, Antimachus, Nicander, Aristotle, Ephorus, Aristarchus, and Crates.

The life by Proclus is part of his chrestomathia (Proclus died, head of the Academy, in A. D. 485) to which we owe our knowledge of the contents of the Cycle. A *précis* of this was prefixed to the archetype of two distinguished families of MSS., including the Venetian and Escorial copies of the *Iliad* (see p. 52). The same was seen on snake's-gut by Georgius Cedrenus (s. xii) *Hist. comp.* i, p. 616, ed. Bonn, who says δράκοντος ἔντερον ποδῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἐν ᾧ ἦν γεγραμμένα τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἢ τε Ἰλιάς καὶ ἢ Ὀδύσσεια χρυσοῖς γράμμασι μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς τῶν ἡρώων πράξεως (I take this from Gardthausen *Gr. Pal.*² i, p. 96). Fortune, however, has dealt hardly with the collection, and blown it almost literally to the winds. The life and the analysis of the *Cypria* have been most favoured, and exist in a dozen and probably more MSS. The life quotes numerous authorities, among which Damastes, Pherecydes, and Gorgias appear for the first time; gives a stemma, taking Homer back to Orpheus, and a list of disputed works, the Cycle and the *Παίγνια*. It also mentions the heresy of Xenon and Hellanicus, who denied Homer the *Odyssey*.

The rest of the lives are anonymous. Nos. IV and V, to

keep the numbers which Westermann gave them, are brief. They are very common, and supplied the public of Constantinople with its intellectual food. IV is the shorter. V quotes much the same authorities as Plutarch II and Proclus, but adds Bacchylides. They both give a place to the Pisistratus-legend. They are eclipsed by VI, the most valuable of these documents. This exists in two forms. Iriarte in the eighteenth century first copied it from one of Lascaris' MSS. at Madrid, and Sittl in 1888 found a longer and better version in the remarkable ninth-century MS. of scholia minora on the *Iliad*, which exists in two unequal parts in the Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, and the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, and goes by the name of its former owner Muretus. It opens in good literary Greek with a profession of impartiality worthy of Pausanias, and catalogues a number of writers on Homer, among whom Anaximenes, Theocritus, Hippias, Timomachus, Stesimbrotus, Philochorus, Aristodemus of Nysa, Dinarchus, Heraclides, Pyrandar, Hypsicrates, and Apollodorus are new.

Suidas' chapter on Homer is, like the *Certamen*, tripartite. The last section consists of the Herodotean life, deionized, the beginning left out, and the order of the quotations altered. It is useful for establishing the text of the life. The middle contains a passage from Dioscorides *ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ νόμοις* already quoted by Athenaeus 8 E. The first portion is new, and constitutes another life. Its immediate authorities are recent, Charax the historian (s. ii A. D.), Porphyrius *ἐν φιλοσόφῳ ἱστορίᾳ*, and Castricius of Nicaea, who appears as a supporter of the claims of Smyrna.¹ The latter seems to be *Καστρίκιος ὁ Φέρμος καλούμενος*, who possessed a property six miles from Minturnae (Porphy. *vit. Plot.* 2. 7), and belonged to the circle of Plotinus and Porphyry. That he came from

¹ This mention of him, and that of Callimachus as quoting the epitaph *ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὰν* (53) are peculiar to Vind. 39, in which the Suidean life is prefixed to the *Iliad*. Callimachus perhaps came through Charax, cf. his fr. 19.

Nicaea is new. The materials used through these three sources are the same as those in the other lives: e. g. the stemma of Charax is the same as the stemma of the *Certamen* and Proclus, and goes back to Damastes. Who compiled this Life, and also who compiled the chapter of Suidas out of it and the other two parts is unknown.¹

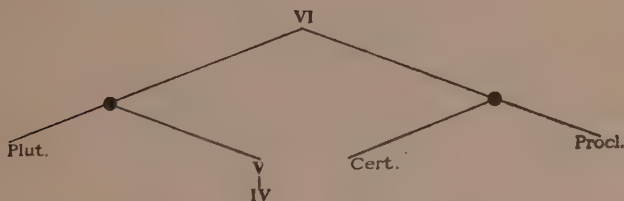
We have next to inquire into the relation of these lives to one another. One way of doing this is to consider the authorities they quote. The Herodotean life naturally stands on one side; IV also, as being clearly V less its quotations, may be neglected. I mark with an asterisk the ἀπαξ φερόμενα in each case.

<i>Cert.</i>	PLUT.	PROC.
Hellanicus <i>fr.</i> 6	(I) Ephorus <i>ἐν ἐπιχωρίῳ</i> <i>fr.</i> 164	Hellanicus <i>fr.</i> 6
*Cleanthes	Aristotle <i>ἐν γ' περὶ ποιητικῆς</i> <i>fr.</i> 66	Damastes <i>fr.</i> 10
*Eugaeon	*Antipater	*Pherecydes
Callicles	(II) Pindar <i>fr.</i> 264	stemma (anon.)
Democritus Troez.	Simonides <i>fr.</i> 85	*Gorgias
stemma (anon.)	Antimachus <i>fr.</i> 18	Aristarchus
Eratosthenes	Nicander <i>fr.</i> 14	Crates
*Alcidamas <i>ἐν μουσείῳ</i>	Aristotle <i>fr.</i> 66	*Xenon
	Ephorus <i>fr.</i> 164	*Hellanicus
	Aristarchus	
	Dion. Thrax	
	Crates	
V	VI	
Pindar <i>fr.</i> 264	*Anaximenes <i>fr.</i> 20	*Hypsierates
Simonides <i>fr.</i> 85	Damastes <i>fr.</i> 10	Crates
Antimachus <i>fr.</i> 18	Pindar <i>fr.</i> 264	Eratosthenes
Nicander <i>fr.</i> 14	*Theocritus	*Apollodorus
*Bacchylides <i>fr.</i> 48	stemma (anon.)	
Aristotle <i>fr.</i> 66	*Hippias <i>fr.</i> 8	
Ephorus <i>fr.</i> 164	Ephorus <i>fr.</i> 164	
Aristarchus	stemma (anon.)	
Dion. Thrax	*Timomachus	
	Aristotle <i>fr.</i> 66	
	Antimachus <i>fr.</i> 18	
	*Stesimbrotus <i>fr.</i> 18	
	*Philochorus <i>fr.</i> 54 c	
	Callicles	
	*Aristodemus of Nysa	
	*Dinarchus	
	Democrines	
	Aristotle <i>fr.</i> 66	
	*Heraclides	
	*Pyrrander	

¹ For note see next page.

A comparison shows at first sight that Plutarch and V are practically identical. V adds Bacchylides, who must have slipped out of the other versions. The compiler of Plutarch I has copied fairly full versions of the same quotations of Ephorus and Aristotle which the others reduced to a mention. Again the *Certamen*, Proclus, and VI are connected. The *Certamen* and Proclus start off with the same historian, but immediately diverge: each has saved valuable references, which occur nowhere else. V has added Xenon and Hellanicus, who seem to follow naturally the grammarians (Aristarchus, &c.) of the other family. Both the *Certamen* and Proclus are embraced and practically replaced by VI: e. g. it has the Callicles and Democritus (-crines) otherwise unique of the *Certamen*, and the Damastes of Proclus. It also contains very nearly the whole of Plutarch and V: that is to say, it omits Simonides, Nicander, Aristarchus, Dionysius of Thrace. Yet it has portions of the vicinity of all of these writers, viz. Pindar (for Simonides); Antimachus (for Nicander); Crates (for the two other grammarians). On the evidence of quotations, therefore, we may confidently say that VI is the fullest form of the common original of *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV, V. Each stage has saved a little which the others lost; but the private gains of VI are overwhelming.

Suidas does not enter into competition here: he shelters himself behind his three immediate sources. The relation of the rest seems to be—



¹ Charax was extant A. D. 502, if Eustathius of Epiphania (ap. Evag. v. 24, *F. H. G.* iv. 138), whose history went down to that year, epitomized him. Suidas' biographical chapters came from Hesychius of Miletus (s. vi), who perhaps compiled the article on Homer.

The same result may be attained by another process. The statements made in the various Lives are now authenticated, now anonymous. If we compare them (in the table opposite) we see that nearly all fall under the same sponsors.

If we take the *vita Herodotea*, where the statements are forcedly anonymous, we see that all the assertions have their authority in the other lives; only the places visited and the date are singular. The former may be assumed to hang together with the 'epigrams', and as I have suggested these and the prose also alike come from a biographical poem. The date—168 years after Troy—recurs in other authors (see p. 16). The short stemma of five generations is unique, especially as introducing the interesting name 'Ομύρης¹ in the fourth generation. The mention of Crethon, however, suggests Dinarchus (vi. 28).²

In the other lives I have marked with an asterisk the statements still left unauthenticated. It will be seen that they are not many. The *Certamen* brings forward several candidates for the post of mother: Calliope occurs elsewhere, Metis is presumably the Eumetis of Charax. It has also a list of places visited very different from the Herodotean: they are European. We know the source of Chalcis and Aulis, but Delphi, Athens, Corinth, and Argos are obscure. They may have come from the Hesiodic side.

The stemmata are practically the same, and go back to Stesimbrotus, Hellanicus, Pherecydes, and Damastes. There are differences between the names, which I have thought best to print as they stand, having nothing new to add. The list of works is all but identical.

Enough has been said to show that Herod. *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV, V, VI are so many versions of one source. The best representative of this source is of course VI, but several valuable facts have escaped from it and found a home in *Cert.* Plut. or Proc. Suidas is in a different

¹ Or Ὀμῆρος. I cannot find authority for treating it as Aeolic for Ὀμῆρος. Welcker i. 141 identified it with Θαμύρας!

² Piccolomini's emendation (Κρήθωνος for καὶ ρηθωνος) is certain.

position. He enumerates three late sources, Charax, Porphyrius, and Castricius. One of these multiplied the birth-places; Cenchreae and Grynium show minute topographical knowledge, Cnossus and Lucania wide imagination. They suggest to my mind Porphyrius or Castricius, who were internationals. What was the document from which *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV-VI all drew, and the immediate sources of Suidas also? We might put forward these same Suidean sources as the origin of Proc. IV-VI at least, but Castricius and Porphyrius seem unnecessarily late. An adaptation of Porphyrius would not have resulted in VI, but in a worthless screed like Iamblichus' life of Pythagoras. Or Charax? Charax furnishes a stemma, probably the mention of Callimachus, perhaps more; but a long life of Homer replete with authorities, a much fuller VI, seems out of scale in his *Χρονικά*.

The authors quoted in *Cert.* Plut. Proc. IV-VI end with Aristarchus, Crates, and Dionysius Thrax. No later authority is quoted. This suggests a *ὑπόμνημα* of the first century after Christ. This was the period of the second stage in learning, the accumulation of the opinions of the previous centuries. Learned and ample commentaries on Homer have been found in papyri of this century: Ammonius on Φ (Ox. Pap. 221), the anonymi of Ox. Pap. 1086 and 1087. In this period some one, it is idle to ask who, wrote *περὶ Ὁμήρου χρόνων καὶ πατρίδος*, a well-furnished hypomnema tabulating views from Pindar downwards. The nearest representative of this is VI. The other versions, following a natural law, diluted it till we arrive at IV. The same document lay before Philostratus, *Heroic.* 318, Eusebius, *Chron.* ii. 69, 74, Schöne, and the Christians: no one wishes to charge Tatian, Athenagoras, and Clement with unnecessary research. They used a handy work of reference, and confuted the heathen out of his own mouth. They took him down also much as he stood, with his authorities in a bunch. The author was a grammarian, who had at his back the collections of the antiquarians as

well as the schoolmen; the list of Homeric works, and the statement (in Proclus only) about the Chhorizontes is evidently Alexandrian.

Allusions to Homer's biography are frequent in the authors of the first and second centuries after Christ, and imply considerable and almost too great a literature. Strabo 36 προστίθει οὖν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ φιλείδημον τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ τὸ φιλέκδημον, ὅπερ αὐτῷ μαρτυροῦσιν ὅσοι τὸν βίον ἀναγράφουσι. 482 Lycurgus on his travels met both Thales and Homer. Pausanias ix. 30. 3 avoids giving an opinion: περὶ δὲ Ἡσιόδου τε ἡλικίας καὶ Ὀμήρου πολυπραγμονήσαντι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐ μοι γράφειν ἡδὺ ἦν, ἐπισταμένῳ τὸ φιλαίτιον ἄλλων τε καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅσοι κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπὶ ποιήσει τῶν ἐπῶν καθειστήκεσαν. Again, x. 24. 3 ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντές τε καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἰδίᾳ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λόγον οὔτε ἐς πατρίδα οὔτε περὶ ἡλικίας Ὀμήρου γράφομεν. Cf. Plutarch *Sertorius* i on Smyrna and Ios, Demetrius Magnes in Diog. Laert. i. 38 Thales lived κατὰ Ἡσιόδον καὶ Ὀμηρον καὶ Λυκοῦργον. (See also Valerius Maximus ix. 12, ext. 3 (the riddle).)

Lucian, *Vera Historia* ii. 20 προσελθὼν ἐγὼ Ὀμήρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ . . . τά τε ἄλλα ἐπυνθάνομην καὶ ὅθεν εἶη, τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσέτι νῦν ζητεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκεν ὥς οἱ μὲν Χίον, οἱ δὲ Σμυρναῖον, πολλοὶ δὲ Κολοφώνιον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν· εἶναι μέντοι γε ἔλεγεν Βαβυλώνιος καὶ παρά γε τοῖς πολίταις οὐχ' Ὀμηρος ἀλλὰ Τιγράνης καλεῖσθαι· ὕστερον δὲ ὁμηρεύσας παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀλλάξαι τὴν προσηγορίαν: he was not blind.

Demosthenis encomium, c. 9 = 497 also professes ignorance: τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῷ μὲν ἀσαφῇ, πατρὶς καὶ γένος καὶ χρόνος· εἰ γοῦν τι σαφὲς αὐτῶν ἦν,

οὐκ ἦν ἀν ἀμφίλεκτος ἀνθρώποις ἔρις,

πατρίδα μὲν αὐτῷ διδόντων Ἴον ἢ Κολοφῶνα ἢ Κύμην ἢ Χίον ἢ Σμύρναν ἢ Θήβας τὰς Αἰγυπτίας ἢ μυρίας ἄλλας, πατέρα δὲ Μαίονα τὸν Λυδὸν ἢ ποταμὸν καὶ μητέρα Μελανώπην φασὶν ἢ νύμφην τῶν Δρυάδων ἀνθρωπίνου γένους

ἀπορία, χρόνον δὲ τὸν ἡρωϊκὸν ἢ τὸν Ἰωνικόν. καὶ μηδ' ὅπως πρὸς τὸν Ἡσίοδον εἶχεν ἡλικίας σαφῶς εἰδέναι, ὅπου γε καὶ τοῦνομα πρὸ τοῦ γνωρίμου τὸ Μελησιγενῆ προκρίνουσιν, τύχην δὲ πενίας ἢ πάθος ὁμμάτων. ἀλλὰ μὴν βέλτιον ἂν ᾦν καὶ ταῦτα ἔαν ἐν ἀσαφεὶ κείμενα. He agrees with Pausanias.

This *ὑπόμνημα* did no more than collect the opinions given out in the preceding centuries. To arrive at the ultimate source of the biographical tradition about Homer we must trace the fragmentary information which we possess upwards through the classical period.¹

We may take for granted the technical investigations of Aristarchus, Crates, and their disciples, and the historical studies of Aristotle and the Peripatetics. The Atthidographi and other historians of the fourth and third centuries did not neglect Homer. We have seen the theses of Ephorus in his *ἐπιχώριος*. Theopompus brought Homer down to 700 or later, but it is unlikely he left the subject there, and Proclus' *tu quoque* argument against Ephorus' etymology of *ὄμηρος* (= blind) may have been taken from Theopompus. Philochorus provided Homer with a date, and removed him from the contention of Asian towns and islands by making him an Argive. For Timaeus and Dieuchidas see the *F. H. G.* The Attic orators were too busy to waste time over archaeology, if they quoted Homer for their purposes and registered variants for ours. To Plato we return shortly. The fifth-century logographi—all we notice orientals—held views on Homer. Hellanicus of Lesbos derived him from Orpheus, as did Pherecydes of Leros and Damastes of Sigeum.² A tree is given by Proclus to all three: probably all three were genealogists, if Hellanicus derived Hesiod also from

¹ The learned Allacci still contains the whole of extant knowledge. Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* i; Sengebusch, *Diss. Hom.* i; Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36, are more accessible. A new *Notitia Homerica* is not the work of a few pages. I wish only to exhibit the continuity.

² Damastes made him tenth from *Musaeus* according to vi. 9. If this is true it does not disarrange the tree materially, as *Musaeus* and *Orpheus* were often father and son.

Orpheus (fr. 9) and Damastes wrote *περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων*. The stemma in any case goes back to the beginning of the fifth century, and is evidently the same as that which Charax fathered centuries later and now exists in the *vita Suida*.¹ Damastes made Homer a Chian. We have also to mention Eugaeon of Samos, precise age unknown, whose work was probably *ᾄροι Σαμίων* like that of Duris later: Meles according to him was Homer's father, and the same view was held by another Samian, Asius, and by Acusilaus of Argos. None of these Samians I notice are cited for the Creophylus-story, though it must have had a certain solidity if the biographers of Pythagoras make him consort with Hermodamas the descendant of Creophylus (Porph. *vit. Pyth.* 1 and 10; Iambl. *ib.* 11: Pythagoras escaped from Samos *μετὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοδάμαντος μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, Κρεωφύλου δὲ ἐπικαλουμένου, διὰ τὸ Κρεωφύλου ἀπόγονον εἶναι Ὀμήρου ξένου, ὃς ἐλέγετο τοῦ ποιητοῦ γενέσθαι φίλος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν ἀπάντων*, cf. p. 48): Neanthes is perhaps the source *F. H. G.* iii. 9. At the end of the century the sophists could not leave Homer unnoticed: Gorgias utilized, apparently, Damastes' tree, and derived him from Musaeus. Hippias, a more serious archaeologist, found material in the heroic civilization for an *ἐπίδειξις*, as we know from the *Hippias Major*. He also preceded Ephorus in making Homer a Cymaeon. Critias held his father was a river (fr. 11), and as he believed Orpheus invented the hexameter (fr. 10) evidently thought he was an ancestor of Homer's. Gorgias and Hippias 'wrote about Homer', but three writers, Stesimbrotus, Metrodorus, and Theagenes enjoy the distinction of having this specifically asserted about them. The well-known passage in Tatian, *in Graecos* 31, may once more be quoted: *περὶ γὰρ τῆς ποιήσεως τοῦ Ὀμήρου, γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν, προηρεύνησαν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, Θεαγένης τε ὁ Πηγίνος κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγινώς, Στησίμ-*

¹ See the Table and Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* i. 138.

βροτός τε ὁ Θάσιος καὶ Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος· μετ' ἐκείνους Ἐφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ Φιλόχορος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, Μεγακλείδης τε καὶ Χαμαιλέων οἱ περιπατητικοί· ἔπειτα γραμματικοὶ Ζηνόδοτος, Ἀριστοφάνης, Καλλίμαχος, Κράτης, Ἐρατοσθένης, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀπολλόδωρος,¹ c. 21 καὶ Μητρόδωρος τε ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὀμήρου λίαν εὐήθως διείλεκται, πάντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μετάγων. Stesimbrotus and Metrodorus are currently alluded to by Plato and Xenophon (who adds Anaximander). Of their labours we know that Stesimbrotus made Homer a Smyrnaean, and two or three of his interpretations survive; an opinion or two is cited from Metrodorus and Theagenes. Herodotus, who is still with us, is a considerable scholar. He doubts on internal not traditional evidence the ascription of the *Cypria* and *Epigoni*, gives a very definite date, in terms of his own era, to Homer, and reveals the current opinion that there were in existence various hexameter poets believed to be older than Homer. At one moment he mistrusts this common opinion (ii. 53), at another he uses it without question (ii. 23). He hides his sources and his reasons for the '400 years and no more'.

Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides all mentioned Homer, and gave him Smyrna, Chios, and Ios for birthplaces (*vit.* V); Pindar also had the family legend (fr. 265), how the *Cypria* was his daughter's dowry. These professionals lived on the turn of the century, and with them and Theagenes (κατὰ Καμβύσην γεγονώς) we are well within the sixth century. Here the atmosphere is rare. Nearly everything has perished. If Solon and the other literature had survived there would have been frequent mentions of Homer: the further literature goes back, the more allusive it becomes. Theognis inserts a kind of *précis* of the *Odyssey* into his verse-diary (1123-8), Callinus long before credited Homer with the *Thebais*, Solon is our first authority for the

¹ This passage, and its counterpart in Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 21 and Philostratus, came direct from the hypomnema of s. i A. D. (p. 33).

history of tragedy. Homeric biography is touched on by Asius, a Samian, who like Pigres wrote epos and elegy, the latter humorous.¹ Asius has left a quatrain (*P. L. G.* ii. 23), of which the second line is ἦλθεν κνισοκόλαξ εὖτε Μέλῃς ἐγάμει; and when we consider that his countryman Eugaeon held that Homer's father was Meles it is clear the learned² have not been wrong in seeing here a jocose account of the established nativity of Homer. More than this the Riddle of the Lice, which the Lives give in verse form and in prose, is taken back by Hippolytus, *Ref. haer.* ix. 9, to Heraclitus (47 n. Bywater, 56 Diels), who thought it sufficiently σκοτεινόν for his purpose and unpleasant enough for his humour.

We have thus followed the anecdotic and biographical tradition of Homer back to the middle of the sixth century. We next ask what the source of these anecdotes is. Have they any origin beyond natural and unsystematized tradition, and the credulity which operates on the popular conception of great men?

I wish to suggest that the source of the Homeric tradition was the gild known as the Sons of Homer. The logographi of the fifth century, Acusilaus and Hellanicus, said that the Homeridae were a Chian gild called after the poet, and I endeavour in the next section to show that the mentions of them in literature are consonant with this statement.³ Among the functions of religious guilds was that of preserving the truth or esoteric story of the object of their worship, a *ιερός λόγος* or *ἀπόρρητα*. Plato and Isocrates speak of the Homeridae in terms which suggest they had a store of truth about their founder (see pp. 43 sqq.). The

¹ Kinkel, *E. G. F.* 202 sqq.

² e.g. Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* i. 135.

³ I adduce i. c. the Hesiodic school, who possessed all these attributes except the patronymic: I may here mention the Carpocratiani who worshipped Epiphanes son of Carpocraton in Cephallenia: ἔζησε δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ θεὸς ἐν Σάμῃ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας τετίμηται· ἐνθα αὐτῷ ἱερὸν βυτῶν λίθων, βαμοί, τεμένη, μουσεῖον ἑκοδόμηται τε καὶ καθιέρωται· καὶ συνιόντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ Κεφαλλῆνες κατὰ νομηνίαν γενέθλιον ἀποθέωσιν θύουσιν 'Επιφάνει· σπένδουσὶ τε καὶ εὐωχοῦνται καὶ ὕμνοι λέγονται Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 2.

Homeridae in the fourth century were regarded as sources for Homer's biography. It is further to be noticed that the notion of a nocturnal visit of Helen to Homer has made its way into *vit.* VI in words very like those of Isocrates, v. 51 ἄλλοι δέ φασι τοῦτο (*sc.* blindness) αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι διὰ μῆνιν τῆς Ἑλένης ὀργισθείσης αὐτῷ· διότι εἶπεν αὐτὴν καταλελοιπέναι μὲν τὸν πρότερον ἄνδρα, ἠκολουθηκέναι δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· οὕτως γοῦν ὅτι καὶ παρέστη αὐτῷ φασὶν νυκτὸς ἢ ψυχῇ τῆς ἡρώϊνης παραινοῦσα καῦσαι τὰς ποιήσεις αὐτοῦ . . . τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ποιῆσαι τοῦτο. This is not the same story as that given by Isocrates from the Homeridae, but it represents the angry heroine penally visiting Homer, as she visited Stesichorus in the Stesichorus-story of which this is a double. In this instance then there seems a palpable connexion between the Homerid doctrines and the Lives. How did they preserve their teaching, and in what form did it reach the laity? Not in biographies like the Lives, for in 600–550 prose was hardly used for the purpose. Narrative, whether historical like Magnes' Ἀμαζονία (Table) or personal as the poem of Aristeas, was conveyed in hexameter verse. Now the Homeridae as Plato tells us in another place (*Phaedr.* 252 B) had ἔπη: he calls them ἀπόθετα, that is esoteric or 'reserved'. The two lines he quotes are hymnal, and deal with the etymology of Ἔρως; still there is no likelihood that the ἀπόθετα ἔπη of the Homerids were confined to theology. The accounts they gave of their Father, his commerce with heaven and his tribulations in the flesh, must have formed part of them. Now we have seen (p. 19) that the sections of verse put in the mouth of Homer in the Herodotean Life do not seem to be excerpts from an heroic poem or any poem except one recounting the adventures of Homer himself. They are in good epic Greek, serious and not parodic. A Life is written under the person and in the language of Herodotus, it quotes the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the Cycle, and popular Volkslieder of Asia Minor; for the unidentified biographical verses which it quotes on an ample scale, no so plausible

source can be found as in the ἔπη of Homer's children and hierophants. There is more than this: the account of the competition between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis at the wake of Amphidamas is given by Plutarch, *sept. sap. conv.* c. 10, on the authority of Lesches. As I remarked (p. 26) the only Lesches known to history is the author of the *Iliad parva*. But to put the ἀγών of the two poets into a short poem describing the last days of Troy has always been difficult, and has so far justified the Germans' creation of a second Lesches. This difficulty vanishes if we conceive the existence of a poem or poems containing the Life of Homer. Lesches of Pyrrha in Lesbos was near the focus; and whether a member of the gild or no was a Homerid in the sense in which the scholiast on Pindar gives the title to his contemporary Cynaethus. Further, since—as we have seen (p. 25)—the verses quoted from Lesches by Plutarch are evidently the same as those utilized in the central part of the actual *Certamen*, it will follow that Alcidas' source was the same Lesches. We see therefore a named Homeric poet, a contributor to the Cycle, composing a poem on some of the adventures of his Master. That this poem, the source of the Agon, was the same poem as that which inspired Cephalion in the Herodotean life is naturally uncertain. The *vit. Herod.* and the Agon, however, contain some of the same documents and coincide on certain points (e.g. *Cert.* 260, 285, *vit. Herod.* 135, 425). It is equally uncertain whether Lesches' poem was part of the Homeric ἀπόθετα, or if he called on their store for his work. The poem or poems were the source for the logographi and memoiristes of the fifth century. They also supplied Asius of Samos with material for his parodies. Asius (p. 38) like Pigres¹ was a serio-comic; in his lighter vein he mocked the mysteries of his own art, and gave a humorous turn to the pious narrative of his professional brethren. The *ἱερὸς λόγος* of Homer indeed lent itself to humour, and excited

¹ Who amplified the *Iliad* in a serious spirit, but also wrote the *Batrachomyomachia*, and was credited with the *Margites*.]

the contempt of Plato and Callimachus. It had been previously employed for an irreverential purpose by Sophocles (Ath. 592 A).

To resume: the age and life of Homer occupied very nearly all the Greek chronologers and annalists. They utilized in his case the same sources which they employed for their chronicles generally, namely *ῥοι* or local annals. The Samian *ῥοι*, the Clazomenian, are cited, and the compilations of the Peripatetics and Alexandrians were based upon them. They supply reliable evidence for the dating of the Cycle. The personal history of Homer, more especially the marvels which attended him, were expounded by his disciples in semi-esoteric verse. The tradition of the Herodotean life and of the *Certamen* embodies this source for us; the remaining lives, which appear to descend from a learned *ὑπόμνημα* of the Augustan period, are more historical in character, and quote the logographi of the fifth century. They also, however, contain in different proportions a mixture of the pious traditions of the Sons of Homer.¹

¹ The origin and meaning of the Homeric legend diffused by the Homeridae is a further question. An article by Herr E. Maass in the *Neue Jahrb.* 1911, 539 ('Die Person Homers') deals with the parents' names. Maass thinks *Μελισσιγένης* means born on the day of the Melesia, and that *Κριθίς* is mythological. His positive argument turns entirely on the forms, and these are not certain. 'Son of Meles' no doubt should be *Μελιοτογένης*. A form like this (*μελιοτογενῆς*) is actually preserved *vit. Herod.* 30; and *μελῆσι*-, *μελισσι*-, &c. may be corruptions therefrom under the influence of *μέλισσα*. As to the mother, *Κριθίς*, *Κρηθίς* are equally attested; the latter seems the more substantial person-name, if we compare *Κρήθων*, *Κρηθείς*. *Κριθ*- was acceptable for its obvious meaning. Again it is hard to suppose that these sixth-century legends should have forgotten the *Μελήσια*, if there were such a festival. If *Asius* parodied Meles' wedding-feast, Meles (as father) must have been in existence well before his time. He is better attested than his festival (of which there is no mention).

CHAPTER II

THE HOMERIDAE

ANTIQUITY presents us with a set of persons who bore the name of Homer in a patronymic form. *Prima facie* 'Sons of Homer' should connect us with Homer, open an avenue to him. Modern critics,¹ however, have destroyed this evidence by refusing significance to the patronymic and treating the word as an appellative equivalent to 'Ομηρισταί or 'Ομηρικοί. I endeavour in this chapter to prove that the Homeridae were a family, and I ask what inference may be drawn from the family to the place and period of its ancestor.

The ancient world held the Homeridae for a family. Acusilaus, our oldest logographer, Hellanicus, older than Thucydides, said so.² The antiquarian opinion of the fifth century, when the Homeridae according to Pindar (*infra*) and Plato's *Ion* (p. 44) were still in existence, cannot have been mistaken. Antiquarians invent ancestors, they cannot create families which are their own contemporaries. Crates, the Pergamene philologist, said that they were Homer's descendants, and as he mentioned them in his 'Ιεροποιίαι must have regarded them as fulfilling the religious duties of a family. The Chians laid claim to Homer on the evidence of this family resident in their island (Strabo 645, *Certamen* 13-15). On the historical side there is no exception; the interpretation propounded by Seleucus ('sons of hostages') shows the science of the philologist who

¹ Even A. Rzach in his learned article 'Homeridai' in Pauly.

² Harpocration 'Ομηρίδαι· Ἰσοκράτης Ἐλένη [65, see the passage, p. 44]. 'Ομηρίδαι γένος ἐν Χίῳ, ὕπερ Ἀκουσίλαος ἐν γ' [fr. 31], Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῇ Ἀτλαντιάδι [fr. 55] ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ φησὶν ὀνομάσθαι. Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν β' περὶ βίων ἀμαρτάνειν φησὶ Κράτῃτα νομίζοντα ἐν ταῖς Ἱεροποιαῖς Ὀμηρίδας ἀπογόνους εἶναι τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὀνομασθῆναι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμήρων κτλ. Acusilaus and Hellanicus were extant in Harpocration's time, as we now know.

derived *θεός* from *θάλεια*, *θοίνη* and *μέθη* (Athen. 40 c), *ἐπτά* from *τὸ ἐπιέναι τῷ δεκάτῳ ἀριθμῷ* (E. M. in *Ἑπτά*), *ἐννέα* from *τὸ ἐνδεῖν εἰς τὸν τῶν δέκα ἀριθμόν* (Et. Flor. Miller in v.). Ephorus, without any desire to deny Homer's personality, informs us (*vit. Plut.* i. 2) that the Cymaeans and Ionians called the blind *ὀμηροί*. If this is true it was an Asiatic word; the interpretation was current in literature, e. g. Lucian, *Demosth. Enc.* 17.¹

In general literature the Homeridae are occasionally noticed. Early in the fifth century Pindar (*Nem.* ii. 1 sqq.) says:—

ὄθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι
 ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' αἰοιοῖ
 ἄρχονται Διὸς ἐκ προοι-
 μίου καὶ ὄδ' ἀνὴρ
 καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγώ-
 νων νικαφορίας δέδε-
 κται πρῶτον Νεμεαίου
 ἐν πολυυμνήτῳ Διὸς ἄλσει.

He does not say they were a gild, or Chians, but makes them equivalent to rhapsodes and describes their technique. He does not regard them as lay admirers or Homer-experts, such as the social celebrities in Plato and Xenophon.

The next mentions are in the fourth century. Plato, *Republic* 599 D 'Does any state allow that Homer was its lawgiver?' 'No,' says Glaucon, 'even the Sons of Homer do not say that.' The Sons of Homer then had authority to speak for their father, as possessing the truth about him.² In the *Ion* 530 C the rhapsode, Socrates says, should also interpret his poet. 'Yes,' replies Ion, 'that is my accomplishment': οἶμαι κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν περὶ Ὀμήρου, ὥς οὔτε Μητρόδωρος ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὔτε Σητήσιμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος οὔτε Γλαύκων οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν πώποτε γενομένων. So well I do adorn Homer ὥστε οἶμαι ὑπὸ

¹ How Artemidorus, *Oneir.* iv. 2, can use *ὀμηρίζειν* and *ὀμηρισταί* in the apparent sense of 'cupping' I do not see.

² And no one could be less like a lawgiver than the Homer of the Lives which (see c. 1) gave the received account of his circumstances.

‘Ομηριδῶν ἄξιος εἶναι χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ στεφανωθῆναι. The Sons of Homer then have a position which entitles them to decorate persons who deserve well of their parent. Crowns are not voted by private people: the Homeridae are not private people like these expositors of Homer, Metrodorus, Stesimbrotus, &c. (‘Ομηρικοί), nor (at this time) the ordinary rhapsode like Ion himself. In the *Phaedrus* 252 B we are told that the Sons of Homer recite ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἑρωτα, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ὑβριστικὸν πάνυ καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον· ὕμνοῦσι δὲ ᾧδε·

τὸν δ’ ἦτοι μὲν ἔρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηρόν,
ἀθάνατοι δὲ πτέρωτα, διὰ πτερόφοιτον ἀνάγκην.

The Sons of Homer then have a store of verses, which if bold and unmetrical (the correction of δὲ πτ- is intended) are private, not accessible to the general public. Ἀπόθετα must have this sense, and approaches to ἀπόρρητα.¹

Isocrates, *Helena* § 64 Helen ἐνεδείξατο καὶ Στησιχόρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν . . . (65) λέγουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν ‘Ομηριδῶν ὥς ἐπιστάσα τῆς νυκτὸς ‘Ομήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν. The Sons of Homer again have the facts of their father’s life and assert divine interposition in it. They know more than the generalty, they know the inspiration he received. (The story itself, which is repeated by Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. haeres.* vi. 19. 2, belongs to a type: Demeter appeared to Pindar, *vit. Pindari*, p. 2. 6 (Drachmann); cf. *vit. VI*, 51, *ante* p. 39 Athena to Zaleucus, *Plut. Mor.* 543 A; Persephone also to Pindar, *Paus.* ix. 23. 3.)

¹ Cf. ἀπόθετος καὶ ἀπόρρητος (λόγος) *Plut. Mor.* 728 F. Applied to literature Athen. 669 B repeats it from this place; Himerius, *or.* iii. 2 (ap. Bergk, *P. L. G.* iii, p. 287) has ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων τῶν Ἀνακρέοντος, an affectation for the less-known places of Anacreon; Galen xviii. 2. 502 ἴσως οὖν εἰς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν χρησίμων γραμμάτων ἐμβαίνουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποθέτων γραμμάτων. Similarly Athen. 214 E τὰ τ’ ἐκ τοῦ Μητρώου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτόγραφα ψηφισμάτων ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτᾶτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν εἴη καὶ ἀπόθετον, of a collector. In general the word is common, e. g. *Plutarch, Crassus* 6, *J. Caes.* 35; *Philostratus, Heroic.* 320; *Suidas* in νν. Ἐπιμενίδης and Ἐδώδιμον.

We find then in literature that while to Pindar the Homeridae are reciters or rhapsodes, to the fourth-century writers they are persons who possess the mystic history of Homer, a body of recondite verse, and issue rewards to the benefactors of their parent. These three functions were the peculiarity of those γένη or blood-gilds which covered Greek life.¹ The function of ἐξηγηταί, expounders of sacred history and ritual, which the passage in the *Republic* and that in Isocrates suggest, was performed at Eleusis by the Eumolpidae, at Miletus by the Sciridae. The hymn to Eros in the *Phaedrus* reminds us by its etymology and its double name, earthly and heavenly, of many passages in the non-Homeric or Orphic hymns,² and in particular of the hymns 'written for' the Lycomidae, the Apolline gens of Phlya (Paus. ix. 27. 2; for the worship see Hippolytus, *Ref. haeres.* v. 20. 6). Rewards, whether crowns, statues, or decrees, were the commonest collective act of a gild, and one registered in hundreds of inscriptions. So the Homeridae, as performing the functions of a gild, agree with the tradition about them.

What then is the objection to regarding them as such? The so-called mythopoeic tendency of the Greek mind, owing to which we find the Αἰτωλοί children of Αἰτωλός, the Hellenes of Ἑλλην, the Dorians of Δῶρος? The cases are not parallel. Aetolus, Hellen, Dorus, and others like them, possibly traditions of their respective races, were put into verse and canonized by the disciples of Hesiod, and given an impossible task. The Homeridae are one among many patronymically styled families, and all we are asked to believe about them is that they performed certain functions and were descended, literally or by adoption, from their ostensible father. Most families, naturally, were families simply: others had hereditary functions, the Ταλθυβιάδαι, the Ἀσκληπιάδαι, and the vast mantic family the Μελαμπο-

¹ See them in general, Dittenberger, *Hermes* xx. 1 sqq.; Toepffer, *Attische Genealogien*, 1899.

² e.g. Orpheus, frs. 39, 40, 44, 140, 164, 165 (Abel).

δίδαι which gave a line of kings to Argos and is visible in literature from Theoclymenus in the *Odyssey* to the patron of Pindar's sixth Olympian. No doubt eventually and in literature Ἀσκληπιάδαι became a mere equivalent for ἰατροί, as Ὀμηρίδαι means hexameter-writers in Philostratus (*vit. Soph.* p. 221, c. v), but it is easier to explain the origin of these professional terms if we assume in each case a real ancestor of heraldic, medical, and prophetic gifts with for some centuries real descendants.¹ The sons of Asclepius fought at Troy, and the line was continued in Alexanor son of Machaon and Sphyrus and Polemocrates his brothers (Paus. ii. 11. 15, 23. 4, 38. 6); he himself was a royal medicine-man at Tricca.² Second-sight is hereditary, surgery descends in families,³ even chamberlains are found to continue from father to son. There is nothing *a priori* against the Homeridae being a family. What of the fifty-eight in Toepffer's *Attische Genealogien*? The Φιλαῖδαι and Ἀλκμεωνίδαι are substantial enough. What too is this mania for exterminating the individual? All things start from individuals, aristocrats, men better than the herd—religions, monastic orders, arts, inventions. If Daedalus gave his name to his lively dolls, Iphicrates to shoes (Damascius, *vit. Isidor.* 87; Suidas in Ἰφικρατίδες), Antigonus, Seleucus, Thericles to cups (Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 33; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 2. 35. 2), and we still enjoy broughams, daimlers, shrapnel, and zeppelins, why should not the first epic poet have left his name to his sons, first of the body, then spiritual?

If they were a family, what did they do in particular—as the Εὐμολπίδαι did one thing, the Εὐνείδαι another, the Κήρυκες a third? The answer to this is given in the scholion on Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 1 Ὀμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν

¹ Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 1921, 53 sqq.

² On Asclepius see Mr. Farnell's authoritative and eloquent chapter, *ib.* 236 sqq.

³ Hippocrates' genealogy is extant ap. Steph. Byz. in Κῶς. He belonged to the section of the Asclepiadae called Νεβρίδαι.

ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὅμηρου γένους, οἳ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὅμηρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χῖος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὅμηρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραμμένον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκέναι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψώδησε τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ἐννάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὥς Ἰππόστρατος [*F. H. G.* iv. 432] φησιν. The scholion continues with opinions on the derivation of ῥαψῳδός taken from Dionysius of Argos (unknown), Philochorus (fr. 206), Nicocles (*F. H. G.* iv. 464), and Menaechmus (unknown). It therefore comes from good sources, and the statement that the Homeridae were originally blood-descendants of Homer¹ and afterwards no relations, whoever may be the actual authority, is a sound ancient opinion. Their function, a hereditary (ἐκ διαδοχῆς) right to recite Homer, agrees with Pindar's equation of them with rhapsodes, and, so far as succession goes, with the account of the Lycurgidae: *Plut. Lycurg.* 31 Lycurgus died childless, οἱ δ' ἐταῖροι καὶ οἰκεῖοι διαδοχὴν τινα καὶ σύνοδον ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους διαμείναςαν κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν αἷς συνήρχοντο Λυκουργίδας προσηγόρευσαν. That a poet's children inherit his works is a common conception: Pindar (fr. 265) provided Homer with a daughter, whose dowry the *Cypria* was; Pythagoras' *ἱερὸν σύγγραμμα* was left to his daughter Damo, by whose son-in-law it was published (*Iambl. vit. Pyth.* 146): and singularly Thucydides' eighth book was according to some by his daughter (*Marcellinus, vit. Thuc.* 43 λέγουσι δέ τινες νοθεύεσθαι τὴν ὀγδόην ἱστορίαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι Θεοκυδίδου, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν φασι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ εἶναι, οἱ δὲ Ξενοφῶντος: others ascribed it to Theopompus). In Homer's case Creophylus was the son-in-law, or, in the variant story in Plato, *Rep.* 600 B, and Callimachus ap. *Strab.* 638, his host,

¹ A son or sons are given Homer by Herodian, π. μον. λέξ. 9, 27, *vit. Suid.* 37.

in which character he received the *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσης*. The issue of Creophylus appear in the Pythagoras-legend (Iambl. *vit. Pyth.* 8, 11, Porph. *vit. Pyth.* 1 and 10), where one Hermodamas a Samian is called Creophylus, because he was a descendant of Homer's host; the Samian horographer Creophylus (*F. H. G.* iv. 471) evidently belonged to the family (p. 36). In the story of Lycurgus (Heracl. Pont. *πολ.* ii. 3; Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 4) Lycurgus finds children of Creophylus in Samos, and takes from them the poems or a copy of them. Moreover Parthenius a Chian epopoios considered himself 'Ομήρου ἀπόγονος (Suid. in v.); his father was Θέστωρ, which name occurs in the Herodotean life (195, &c.). There is no more reason to disbelieve in this family than in the collaterals of Shakespeare or Sir Thomas More, or to make Homer a Melchisedek *a parte posteriori*.

The Pindaric scholia further ascribe to them the hereditary right to recite the poems: ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾗδον, that is, by apprenticeship. There are no known literary facts to support this (though the Lyeurgian story agrees), and it is clear that such rights soon fell into abeyance, as the founder's kin died out, and when Homer came to Europe.¹ But for authority exercised over a poetical *corpus* we have the curious parallel of the Hesiodic school, if not family. This was a corporation, whose title was συνθύται Μουσῶν 'Ησιοδείων, who owned the land at Thespieae which contained the sacred spots (*I. G.* Sept. 1785 and 4240). They received visitors such as Pausanias (ix. 29. 5), who was informed of their inherited tradition (παρειλημμένα δόξη, 31. 4) that of all the Hesiodic *corpus* only the *Works and Days* came from the Master's hand, and of this verses 1-10 were a later προοίμιον. He saw the official copy at Aganippe, on lead. The gild doubtless regulated the Thespian festival, the Μουσεία (*I. G.* Sept. 1735, 1760, 1763, s. iii-i A.C.). See also p. 38. Nothing is said

¹ Maximus of Tyre xvii. 5 a regards this epoch as late: Sparta, Crete, and Cyrene ὅψ' ἐ ἐρραψόδουν.

about rhapsodes, and there is no affiliation. However, such functions justify us in believing the not more exorbitant statements of the privileges of the Homeridae. Further, there was a patronymic gens at Athens, the *Εὐνείδαι*, professional ὀρχησταί and κιθαρισταί: the *Παμφίδες* (ap. Hesych. in v.), daughters of Pamphos the hymn-writer, are assumed to have been singing women; the *Θρακίδαι* at Delphi and *Κινυρίδαι* at Cyprus are familiar in the capacity of priests.

Further, the school—which is what the Homeric family amounted to—is a characteristic feature of the Greek mentality; the Hippocratean, the Platonic, and the Aristotelian have all left us their works, and under their masters' names (cf. p. 71).

If the Homeridae were a family, what of their ancestor? Do real sons of Homer imply a real Homer? or is Homer a hypostasis, an inference from Homeridae? Let us look at other families. No one will doubt Ἀλκμέων, he is as real as the first Russell or the first Leveson. *Εὐνεύς* cannot be explained away; not in vain do the *Ἀνταγορίδαι* and the *Ζευξαντίδαι* bear their fathers' names. It will be said the *Εὐμολπίδαι* are a clear case of ancestor-creation; they descended from the sweet singer. If they did, they forgot to sing; their function was different. And why was *Εὐμολπος* a singer? If the word were Greek, did Pisistratus and Timothy do what their names imply? Eumolpus came from Thrace. As I contemplate his name I see an ending in -ulphus, as Gandolf, Pandolf, Ataolf. His son Immarados (Paus. i. 5. 2 al.), his daughters *Ζαίσάρα* and *Παμμερόπη* were less grecized. Another Thracian, *Thamyris* (-as), is not grecized at all (*regina Scytharum Tamyris*, Justin i. 8. 2).

Homeros is a real Greek name, from the parts of Thessaly: Collitz, *Dialektinschriften* 2138 στραταγεοντος των θεσσαλων ομηρου λαρισαιου, 2520 ιερομνημονουντων αιτωλων . . . ομαρον, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ 1059 I. 3 (at Larisa) επιγενης ομηρου παιδας παγκρατιον, &c. Now when we find that

Chios received a mixed Pelasgian and Euboean settlement (p. 104), and remember that in Homer the 'European Pelasgic' name applies only to the valley of the Spercheus, near to which it remained in *Δάρισα Πελασγία*, may we not say that Homer or his father was a native of the Pelasgic argos, and even that on this account he chose Achilles for his hero?

The Homeridae, therefore, take us to Chios and to a Homer living there. But as to date all we can yet say is 'earlier than Acusilaus', which means the sixth century, the epoch at which we arrived in ch. i.

CHAPTER III

EPIC CYCLE AND HOMERIC HYMNS

INDICATIONS of date we find in the Epic Cycle, which has perished, and to a slight extent in the Homeric Hymns, which survive. These poems bore the name of Homer, and in antiquity were without exception regarded as his work or that of his disciples. Their date should give us the period at which the Homeric school was working, and before which Homer is to be placed.¹

The authorities for the Cycle do not, strictly speaking, concern my argument, but the question is of real importance for the history of literature, and no better place can be found for it than this. Our principal authority for the contents of the Trojan Cycle is, it is well known, Proclus the Neoplatonic philosopher, who died April 16, A.D. 485. Two doubts have been raised about him by modern criticism: whether the Proclus in question was really the Neoplatonist, and whether the poems of the Cycle were actually extant in his day.

The article on Proclus in Suidas runs as follows: *Πρόκλος ὁ Λύκιος μαθητὴς Συριανοῦ ἀκουστῆς δὲ καὶ Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Νεστορίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος Πλατωνικός. οὗτος προέστη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις φιλοσόφου σχολῆς, καὶ αὐτοῦ μαθητῆς καὶ διάδοχος χρηματίζει Μαρίνος ὁ Νεαπολίτης* [whose life of his master remains edited by Boissonade in Cobet's *Diogenes Laertius*, Paris, 1878, pp. 151 sqq.]. *ἔγραψε πάνυ πολλὰ φιλόσοφα καὶ γραμματικά· ὑπόμνημα εἰς ὄλον τὸν Ὅμηρον· ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ*

¹ I can now refer to the ample article 'Kyklos' by A. Rzach in Pauly.

‘Ἡσιόδου Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέρας.¹ περὶ χρηστομαθίας βιβλία γ’· περὶ ἀγωγῆς β’· εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν Πλάτωνος βιβλία δ’· εἰς τὴν Ὀρφέως θεολογίαν· συμφωνίαν Ὀρφέως Πυθαγόρου καὶ Πλάτωνος· περὶ τὰ λόγια βιβλία ι’· περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ὀμήρῳ θεῶν· ἐπιχειρήματα κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ιη’.

The *Chrestomathia* remains in several forms: (1) an epitome in Photius’ *Bibliotheca*, cod. 239: the title is ἀνεγνώσθησαν ἐκ τῆς Πρόκλου χρηστομαθίας γραμματικῆς ἐκλογαί· ἔστι δὲ τὸ βιβλίον εἰς δ’ διηρημένον λόγους. Principles of poetry are laid down, and a classification into narrative and imitative poetry, to the latter of which epos, elegy, iambus, and melos belong. Epos then is treated: its inventor Phemonoe, its masters Homer, Hesiod, Pisander, Panyasis, Antimachus: then an account of the Epic Cycle. After this the epitome proceeds to elegy, iambus, and melos. When all the forms of the last have been considered the epitome ends οἱ μὲν δύο² λόγοι τῆς Πρόκλου γραμματικῆς χρηστομαθίας ἐν τούτοις. This chapter is on its own showing a double epitome, an abstract of ἐκλογαί. (2) An epitome on a larger scale, but of a portion only of the section on Epos, namely, the Life of Homer and an abstract of the poems of the Cycle, is found, in different portions, in two separate sets of MSS. of the *Iliad*: (a) a life of Homer (called book i), and an analysis of the *Aethiopis*, the *Ἰλιάς μικρά*, *Ἰλίου πέρις*, *Νόστοι*, and *Τηλεγονία* (called book ii) in the MS. Ven. 454 (Ven. A); (b) the same life of Homer and an analysis of the *Cypria* in a family of MSS. (s) of

¹ This is the foundation of our Hesiodic scholia, to which the first reference is in Theognostus, *Canones* 99. 4 (s. ix); the oldest MS. is of the eleventh century. From s. xii onwards they are found diluted by Tzetzes and Moschopoulos. Proclus included a life of Hesiod in his commentary; this also has come down to us, but in the Tzetzean version.

² Whether the *Chrestomathia* included an account of tragedy is uncertain. If it did not, and therefore their epitome covers the whole of the book, we should read as I suggested δ’, i. e. τέσσαρες instead of δύο. The uncertainty is increased by Suidas’ number γ’, which may be a simple error, or may indicate that about A. D. 970 only three books survived. The numbers given to the books in Ven. A (above) are against the inclusion of tragedy.

which the oldest is E 4 or Escorial Ω i. 12 (s. xi). Wissowa (*Hermes*, 1884, 198 sqq.) showed that the prolegomena to Ven. A originally contained the analysis of the *Cypria* also, and it seems certain that the families *p* and *s* (the text of the latter of which corresponds on the whole with that of *x*, i.e. Ven. A and its descendants) contained at one time these prolegomena entire.¹ A shorter version of the epitome in Photius is found here and there: see Homer, ed. Ox., vol. v, pp. 97, 98. That this *Chrestomathia* was the work of the philosopher Proclus was believed until Henri Valois, *Emendationum libri quinque et de Critica libri duo*, Amsterdam, 1740, pp. 168, 169, ascribed them to an earlier Proclus,² principally upon the ground that the Lycian Proclus was more a mystic than a philologer. This view has since been held except by O. Immisch, *Beiträge zur Chrestomathie des Proclus und zur Poetik des Alterthums* in the *Festschrift Th. Gomperz dargebracht*, 1902, pp. 237–74. Schmid, in the fifth edition of Christ's *Geschichte d. gr. Lit.*, 1913, pp. 703, 704, returns to Valois' view, but as it seems to me on very slight grounds. Both Proclus himself and the Neoplatonic school as a whole were well tinctured with philology: indeed a body at war with the Christians could not be otherwise. Both camps spent much of their time over the interpretation of ancient literature, especially the mythological. Proclus' Hesiodic studies passed into the learning of the Byzantines: his commentary 'on the whole of Homer', his scholia to Orpheus (*Marinus, Life*, c. 25), his exegeses of the *Republic* and the *Timaeus*, allegorical though they were, show him an expert philologer, as befitted the pupil of Orion (*Marinus*, c. 8). He may well, in youth, for self-preparation and the preparation of disciples, have composed a manual of ancient epos other than Homer, in which authentic Hellenic history and

¹ This will be made clear in the prolegomena to my edition of the *Iliad*.

² Usually held to be the grammarian of the Antonine period.

religion were contained. As to the School, some masters were mere philosophers, some mere men of letters. This distinction is made in Damascius' notices (*vit. Isid. passim*). Plotinus, though a wealthy man and not without experience and capacity *in saeculo*, was too ecstatic to be other than prophet: when he wrote he did not separate his words, read twice what he had written, or attend to spelling.¹ But his disciples were learned men. The Tyrian Malchas—in Greek *Βασιλεύς* and *Πορφύριος*—has left an account of his circle. Encamped at Mola di Gaeta or Minturna, among the pomegranates and prickly pears, these fortunate people—their spiritual happiness secured—plied antiquarian tasks and expounded poets. There was Zoticus, who edited Antimachus (*διορθωτικά*), Castricius Firmus, a Greek from Nicaea, Plotinus' 'true brother', who possessed an estate six miles from Minturnae and treated the genealogy of Homer; Longinus, who knew the Neoplatonists if he were not one of them (*φιλόλογος μὲν, φιλόσοφος δ' οὐδαμῶς*, said Plotinus), wrote on Homer, and whose *περὶ ὕψους*, if it is his, is a forerunner of the more modest literary history of Proclus. The most important personage of the circle was Porphyrius himself, who edited the *Enneades* and corrected the Master's punctuation. On him I may refer to the exhaustive work of M. Joseph Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre*, Gand, 1913. He was a voluminous writer: Suidas gives him, if we omit his philosophical works and his treatise against the Christians, *περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου φιλοσοφίας, περὶ γένους καὶ εἰδους καὶ διαφορᾶς καὶ ιδίου καὶ συμβεβηκότος, περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πίνδαρον τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν, περὶ τῆς ἐξ Ὁμήρου ὠφελείας τῶν βασιλέων βιβλία ι', συμμίκτων ζητημάτων ζ', εἰς τὸ Θουκυδίδου προοίμιον, πρὸς Ἀριστείδην ζ' . . . καὶ ἄλλα πλεῖστα . . . καὶ γραμματικὰς ἀπορίας*. The list is not complete, for it omits the life of Plotinus which we possess; the life of Pythagoras, an exceedingly learned biography, based on a wide collection of authorities and

¹ Cf. *Hermæ Pastor* ii. 1. 4 *μετεγραψάμην πάντα πρὸς γράμμα, οὐχ ἠῤῥισκον γὰρ τὰς συλλαβάς*.

contrasting very well with Iamblichus' performance, diffuse and without authorities; and the allegory on the Cave of the Nymphs in ν , a slight effort. The phrase *γραμματικαὶ ἀπορίαι* may be held to cover Porphyrius' most important contribution to scholarship, by which he influenced Homeric study down to Eustathius' compilation. This was his exegetical commentary on Homer in the rhetorical form of *ἀπορία* and *λύσις*. This work, in the form of scholia, constitutes the greatest bulk and most substantial portion of the Byzantine scholia on Homer, and is found, either separately or mixed with other scholia, from the tenth century onwards.¹ The Porphyrian scholia occupy the second place among Homeric commentaries, intermediate between the Alexandrian scholia and the scholia minora or glosses. It would be untrue to pretend that this exegesis, a mixture of rhetoric and morality, has practical importance for us, or contributes to the real meaning of the author; at the time it served the purposes of culture, and it shows the kind of interest the Neoplatonics took in epic poetry. It was a field for allegory and philosophy.²

The Neoplatonic school lasted for 200 years after Porphyrius (who lived 'till Diocletian'): it migrated to Athens. The professors maintained their learned tinge: Theon was *ἐμπειρότατος* (Damascius, *vit. Isidor.* 62) in poets and rhetors, Pamprepius, Proclus' pupil, an authority on *προ-παιδεία*, poetical and grammatical (*ib.* 168), and on etymology (Suidas in ν .); Salustius had the whole of Demosthenes by memory (Damasc. 250); Ammonianus, kinsman of Syrianus, Proclus' master, chose the chair: *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν*

¹ See the editions by Schrader, 1880-2, 1890.

² This does not mean that Porphyrius was not a philologist. His solutions are often *ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως, κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, ὀνόματι καὶ λέξει*, even *ἀπὸ τῆς συναλοιφῆς*; he quotes the Alexandrians and Pergamenes, the later grammarians Telephus, Autochthon, Pius, and the great Herodian; is aware of athetesis and takes account of graphical variants. It is, however, a mere paradox to prefer the Porphyrian scholia as sources for Alexandrian readings to A and T, as has been lately done by Römer, *Aristarchs Athetesen in der Homerkritik*, 1912. See the reviews by Ludwig, *Rh. Mus.* 1914, 680; Cauer, *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift*, 1917, April 28.

θεοφιλέστατος ἦν ὁ Συριανὸς καὶ τῷ ὄντι φιλόσοφος· ὁ δὲ ἡγάπα τὴν ἐπὶ ποιητῶν ἐξηγήσει καὶ διορθώσει τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λέξεως καθημένην τέχνην (Damasc. 60); Marinus' disciple Agaprios ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ φιλομαθία (Suid. in vv.). Among the greater later teachers, most of whose activity went in commenting Plato and Orpheus, Syrianus left εἰς ὄλον Ὀμηρον ὑπόμνημα ἐν βιβλίοις ζ'. Proclus, successor to this master, and who received his early education at Alexandria of the sophist Leonas and the Egyptian grammarian Orion (whose *Etymologicum* survives), may have felt moved, in his younger period, to publish an account of a branch of epos, covering a long historical period, which was in danger of oblivion. The heroic period contained Hellenic theology, and Proclus might have said in Strabo's words (474) πᾶς ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀρχαίας ἐξετάζει δόξας καὶ μύθους, αἰνιττομένων τῶν παλαιῶν ἃς εἶχον ἐννοίας φυσικὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ προστιθέντων αὐεὶ τοῖς λόγοις τὸν μῦθον.

The other ἔνστασις taken to this account is a disbelief that Proclus' abstract of the Cycle was made first-hand.¹ The Cycle was not extant in the fifth century and the abstract is a reproduction of previous abstracts (e.g. that in Apollodorus), and therefore Proclus' remark τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὥς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων is 'eyewash' and the philosopher deceived his public. This view is all but universally held—so native is it to German mentality—even by Immisch, who makes the unintelligible remark that the tense of διασώζεται is an indication of conveyance from an earlier source. In reality the present is normal, if not universal.

Before I adduce specific evidence I may observe that there is no general probability of important classical works being lost by Proclus' time. Proclus lived and died well within the period after which heathen literature perished. Later than him were Stephanus of Byzantium, in his original

¹ Bethe, *Hermes* xxvi (1891), 593 sqq.; Wagner, *N. Jahrb.*, 1892, 241 sqq.

state a storehouse of learning; ¹ John of Stobi, who even allowing for his use of anthologies drew from a practically complete ancient world; Hesychius Illustis of Miletus, to whom the biographical sections in Suidas are due; and the historian Eustathius of Epiphania whose history stopped at A. D. 502 and who had at his command beside extant authors Charax, Theopompus, Ephorus, Nicostratus, Dexippus, Asinius Quadratus.² The two events which caused the immense drop in quoted authorities which we find between these collections and Photius in the ninth century, namely the closing of the philosophical schools by Justinian (A. D. 525) and the Mohammedan conquest of Syria and Egypt a century later, were hidden from Proclus.

To estimate the evidence on which the survival of a particular classic at a particular period can be proved is a complicated matter not to be settled in a few pages. I will notice that there are different kinds of evidence which come into account: (1) Papyri; (2) epitomes, florilegia, metaphrases, &c.; (3) explicit statements of survival or loss; (4) anecdotes implying the material existence of literature; (5) detailed quotations, with references or similar specifications; (6) plain quotations. I will adduce analogical evidence, from some of these categories, for the existence of a considerable body of ancient literature in the fifth century.

(1) *Papyri* show an abundant survival of now perished literature till A. D. 300. After that a drop is noticed. The totals of works found in papyri no longer extant are approximately s. i 10, s. ii 28, s. iii 20, s. iv 5, s. v 4, s. vi-vii 2 (I omit unidentified pieces). During the period of loss we find the following authors, now extinct, alive: s. iv Hesiod, *Catalogi* (Berlin 9777), Eupolis (Körte, *Hermes*, 1912), Euripides, *Melanippe* (Berlin 5514), Callimachus,

¹ The date of the *Ethnica* according to the most recent investigator, B. A. Müller, *Hermes*, 1918, 337 sqq., was before the death of Justinian. The epitome was dedicated to him (Suidas in 'Ερμούλαος).

² In Evagrius, *Hist. eccl.* v. 24. Evagrius ended at A. D. 593.

scholia (Amherst 20), *Aetia* and *Iambi* (Ox. Pap. 1011), Menander, *Epitrepontes* (Ox. Pap. 1236).¹ s. v Euphorion (Berlin 273), Menander, *Μισούμενος*, (Ox. Pap. 1013). s. vi-vii Sappho (Berlin 5006 and 9722), Euripides, hypothesis to the *Sciron* (Amherst 17).

These passages are too long to have been taken from anthologies. Papyrus evidence where it exists is decisive in a positive sense. Negatively it is not decisive, owing partly to the precariousness of its discovery, partly to the preposterous consequences which would follow from arguing from it. We should have to believe that the Homeric Hymns, Theognis, Strabo, Galen and Pausanias, Athenaeus also, were extinct in the late classical period.

(2) Eustathius of Epiphania, as we have seen (p. 57), used Theopompus and Ephorus in his history, which came down to A.D. 502. As an ecclesiastical historian he did not quote poets. Under Anastasius (491-518), Marianus (Suid. in v.) turned the following authors into iambics: Theocritus, Apollonius Rhodius, Callimachus' *Hecale*, *Aetia*, *Hymns* and *Epigrams*, Aratus, and Nicander.

How does this evidence bear upon the probability of the survival of the Cycle in the fifth century? The latest quotations of the Cycle are in Plutarch, Athenaeus, and Pausanias; I attach no weight to the attempts of Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 339, and others to disparage the truthfulness of Pausanias. I may refer to my remarks *C. Q.* 1908, pp. 69, 70. The Antoninian writers are now protected by the survival of a considerable number of ancient authors in the papyri of their century.² Clement of Alexandria's quotations (*Cypria*, fr. 5, *Aethiopsis*, fr. 2, *Nostoi*, fr. 8, *Titanomachia*, fr. 5) are less certainly direct: the quotations of the *Thebais* and *Epigoni* in the *Certamen* (later than Hadrian) may come from a *πίναξ* or index of

¹ Sidonius iv. 12. 1 'ipse etiam fabulam similis argumenti [Terentianae] id est Epitrepontem Menandri in manibus habebam'.

² Hesiod (*Catal.*), Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho, Pindar, *Epodes* and *Odes*, *Paean*s, Corinna, Cratinus, Cercidas, Hellanicus, Pherecydes, Dictys of Crete. The *Naupactia* are quoted by Herodian (π. μὲν. λξ. 15. 24).

books (p. 21). Porphyrius, however, quotes the *Ilias parva*, fr. 3. After him there is no assignable mention. When we look at the other survivals, Sappho, Menander, and Euripides lasted no doubt upon their merits; the long life of the two former lends some colour to the story that they and other lyric writers were destroyed at the request of the Orthodox Church.¹ Euripides' survival agrees with the relatively large number of his plays which still exist. Callimachus and Euphorion are better parallels to the Cycle. If these antiquarian and academic, not to say pedantic, poems survived, full of learned information and etymologies, what reason is there to condemn the poems of the Cycle, which covered the most important united undertaking of heroic Greece? The *Cypria* contained nine-tenths of the events of the war, Achilles' exploits against Cycnus, one of his four achievements mentioned by Pindar; the ethical episode of the murder of Palamedes, to which according to one account the *menis* of Achilles was due. The *Aethiopis* contained the death of Antilochus, the successive falls of Penthesilea and Memnon, the death of Achilles, the contention for his arms: the remaining poems narrated the tragic death of Ajax, the reappearance of Philoctetes, the appearance of Neoptolemus, and the detail of the actual capture of Troy: the various *nostoi* of the

¹ Sappho is also quoted by various late writers: see the fragments in Bergk. The story is given by Petrus Alcyonius, *Medices legatus sive de exilio*, p. 69 (reprinted at Leipzig, 1707) 'audiebam etiam puer ex Demetrio Chalcondyla, sacerdotes Graecos tanta floruisse auctoritate apud Caesares Byzantinos ut integra, illorum gratia, compluria de veteribus Graecis poemata combusserint, imprimisque ea ubi amores, turpes lusus, et nequitiae amantium continebantur, atque ita Menandri, Diphili, Apollodori, Alexis fabulas, et Sapphus, Erinnae, Anacreontis, Mimnermi, Bionis, Alemanis, Alcaei carmina intereidisse'. According to Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, tomo vii, p. 1610 sqq. (vol. x, ed. 1824), Pietro Alcionio was a Venetian of unknown name (Alcionio being *da lui preso per affettazione di antichità*) born about 1500, who unsuccessfully competed for the chair of Greek at Venice on the death of Musurus in 1517 and was given that at Florence in 1521 by Giulio dei Medici, whom as Clement VII he followed to Rome, where after being wounded in the siege of 1527 he committed suicide. Chalcondylas died in 1511, aged 87.

heroes, and the winding up of Ulysses' family. These events, however they had been exploited by Pindar, the other melic writers, and the dramatists, were cardinal for Greek history, and gave at least as great occasion as Homer for allegory and exegesis.

Accordingly, when Proclus not merely alludes to them, but states that they survived and the reason for their survival,¹ and moreover proceeds to analyse them, the other proved survivals of literature allow us to believe his statement.

If this reasoning is correct, it dispenses with the need to reason against the other argument that Proclus' analysis is identical with Apollodorus' section on the heroic age, and therefore taken from it. It is not identical, as any one can see: Apollodorus' sources were various. The similarity of wording is natural in two accounts of the same events derived partly from the same authors.

These objections disposed of, it will be well to briefly collect the evidence for the date and authorship of the principal poems of the Cycle. I omit *Titanomachia* and *Oedipodea*.

Thebais: not treated by Proclus. *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 255 (ed. Ox.), 261 (Rzach) ὁ δὲ "Ὀμηρος ἀποτυχὼν τῆς νίκης περιερχόμενος ἔλεγε τὸ ποιήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Θηβαίδα ἔπη ς (ξ cod.) ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ

"Ἀργος ἄειδε θεὰ πολυδίψιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες,
εἶτα Ἐπιγόνους (ἐπειγομένου cod. em. Barnes) ἔπη ς (ξ cod.)
ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ

νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι,
φασὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ταῦτα Ὀμήρου εἶναι. The wording of these notices shows them to have been taken from some

¹ For the wording compare Aristotle, *Poet.* c. 5 ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔλαθεν; Galen xvii. 605, Kühn: the hypomnemata of Zeuxis μηκέτι σπουδάζόμενα σπανίζει; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* vii. 32. 13 οὐ μὲν οὖν ἐσπουδάσθη πλείστα τῶ Ἀνατολίῳ συγγράμματα, τοσαῦτα δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε . . .; Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* i, prooem. 3 οἱ μὲν πᾶσιν ἐντυχόντες τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίοις, οἱ δὲ οὐ πᾶσιν ἕνα δὲ αὐτοὺς δι' ἀρχαιότητα σπάνια ὄντα καὶ διεφθαρμένα διέλαθεν.

bibliographical work, such as the *πίνακες* of Callimachus. Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 164) gives examples of this bibliothecarial method of cataloguing, two of which occur in an author of the Antonine age, Athenaeus (244 A, 585 B). The *Tabula Borgiaca*¹ (*C. I. G. Ital. et Sicil.* 1292. 12) perhaps gives the *Thebais* 6,600 lines (. . . *πες επων ουσαν σχ υποθησομεν θηβαιδα*), of which 7,000 (,ζ) may be an inaccurate equivalent. Callinus (*καλαῖνος* MSS., sc. *A* for *A*; the restoration is certain, the name occurs six times in Strabo without variant), ap. Paus. ix. 9. 5, mentioned Homer as the author; Callinus' own date was not long (*οὐ μακρῶ*) before Archilochus, who flourished ol. 20, 700 B.C. The *Thebais* therefore belongs to the eighth century, to which its length and importance naturally assign it. Pausanias, who had wide experience, thought it came next in merit to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. No tradition of its real author remains.

Epigoni: not treated by Proclus; see above. Schol. Ar. *Pac.* 1270, where

νῦν αὖθ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι

is quoted, says *ἀρχή δὲ τῶν Ἐπιγόνων Ἀντιμάχου*, and, as he cannot mean the Colophonian, seems to refer it to Antimachus of Teos, whom Plutarch, *Romulus* 12, on the strength of an eclipse ascribes to ol. 6. 3 (753 B.C.). This agrees with the date of the *Thebais* and of Arctinus (p. 63).

Cypria: in eleven books, Proclus, *Chrest.* Here we meet more than one candidate for authorship.² Athenaeus 682 D

¹ This stone when complete gave a canon of the Cycle with the authors and dimensions of the poems. Unfortunately a mere trunk is left, and no restorations are even probable, neither the older attempts collected in Jahn-Michaelis, *Bilderchroniken*, p. 76, nor that of Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, p. 333. The figure at the end of the inscription (44,400) seems to represent a total of the Cycle according to the writer's canon, which we do not possess. The *Tabula Iliaca* (ib. 1284), which gives an analysis of the poems and does not concern us here, has been edited by Mancuso, *Rendiconti della r. Accad. dei Lincei* xix. 933 (1910), *Memorie* xix. 662 (1911).

² Proclus reserved the question for discussion in his abstract (p. 102.

ἀνθῶν δὲ στεφανωτικῶν μέμνηται ὁ μὲν τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη πεποιηκὼς Ἑγησίας ἢ Στασίνος· Δημοδάμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ [*F. H. G.* ii. 444] Κύπρια (μὲν) Ἀλικαρνασσέως δὲ αὐτὰ εἶναί φησι ποιήματα. Stasinus occurs as the author, *Athen.* 334 B and elsewhere, Hegesinus in Photius' version of the *Chrestomathia*, ed. Ox. v, p. 97. 14. Demodamas argued that in spite of the name Κύπρια the author was a Halicarnassian; he was apparently wrong, on the analogy of the *Ναυπάκτια* ἔπη, whose author was a Naupactian (*Paus.* x. 38. 11). Στασάνωρ is a Cyprian, *Strabo* 683, and one Stesander 'sang Homer's battles' at Delphi, Timomachus ἐν τοῖς Κυπριακοῖς, *F. H. G.* iv. 521. The question is as obscure to us as it was to the ancients. Herodotus, it is well known, doubted Homer's authorship on internal grounds (ii. 117). No indication of date is given, unless Arctinus is a possible author;¹ but such a long and important poem must belong to the same period as the *Thebais* and the *Epigoni*, and there is something to be said for the first poem in the series being first in time.

• *Aethiopsis*: βιβλία εἴ Ἀρκτίνου Μιλησίου *Procl. Chrest.* Arctinus alone of these poets has a biography: Suidas Ἀρκτίνος Τήλεω τοῦ Ναύτεω ἀπογόνου, Μιλήσιος, ἐποποιός, μαθητῆς Ὁμήρου, ὡς λέγει ὁ Κλαζομένος Ἀρτέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὁμήρου [*F. H. G.* iv. 341], γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν θ' Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τετρακόσια ἔτη τῶν Τρωικῶν. This equivalent expression 'four hundred years after Troy' guarantees the olympiad (744 + 400 = 1144). Else in the different versions in which Eusebius' *Chronicle* has come

10, ed. Ox.): hence perhaps the Κύπρια occur separately in Suidas' catalogue.

¹ Another poem or poems are ascribed to ἀρκτινοῦν τον μιλησιον by the Tabula Borgiaca. The length is given in the words ἐπων οντα βφ' [9500]. The neuter plural might perhaps refer to the *Thebais* and *Epigoni*, but the length is too short, as we know from the *Certamen* that each was 7,000 lines. Is the *Cypria* meant? A poem of eleven books might contain 800-900 in each. Arctinus was also given the *Titanomachia* (*Athen.* 22 c 2770). The uncertainty of these attributions appears again in the case of the Ἰλιάς μικρά.

down to us Arctinus is given as dates ol. 1 and ol. 4. 2 (Eus. *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, ii, pp. 78, 81). Eusebius has several pairs of dates for persons or events, e.g. for Cinaethon, Eumelus, Aleman, the foundation of Cyzicus, several for Hesiod. However, all the figures point to the same period. It agrees with Plutarch's calculation for Antimachus of Teos (p. 61), the periods assigned to Cynaethus and Eumelus (p. 66), and allows an inference to the date of Lesches (below). It is the central date on which the chronology of the Cycle depends.¹

Ilias parva: βιβλία τέσσαρα Λέσχω Μιτυληναίου Procl. *Chrest.* No biography of him remains, but equivalent evidence is adduced by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 131. 6 *ναὶ μὲν καὶ Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαίζουσιν* τινες. Ἑλλάνικος [*F. H. G.* i. 61] γοῦν ἱστορεῖ τοῦτον κατὰ Μίδα γεγονέναι, Φανίας² δὲ πρὸ Τερπάνδρου τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον, διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρκτίνῳ καὶ νενικηκέναι, Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς [*F. H. G.* i. 43] περὶ τὸν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα [708 B. C.]. The anecdote in Phanias agrees with Xanthus' date, the era of Terpander (ol. 33. 2 = 646 B. C. according to the *Marmor Parium* and Eusebius) by itself does not contradict the date in Jerome (Eus. ii, p. 87), ol. 30. 4 (= 656 B. C.), but is the vaguer of the two criteria.

There were other candidates, as in the case of the *Cypria*: schol. Eur. *Troad.* 821 τὸν Γανυμήδην καθ' Ὁμηρον Τρωὺς ὄντα παῖδα Λαομέδοντος νῦν εἶπεν ἀκολουθήσας τῷ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκότι, ὃν οἱ μὲν Θεστορίδην Φωκαίεα φασίν, οἱ δὲ Κιναιίθωνα Λακεδαιμόνιον³ ὥς Ἑλλάνικος, οἱ δὲ Διόδωρον Ἐρυθραῖον. Thestorides in the Herodotean life

¹ Arctinus is called παλαιότατος ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ποιητῆς by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 68. 2.

² Suidas Φανίας ἢ Φανίας, Ἑρέσιος, φιλόσοφος Περιπατητικός, Ἀριστοτέλους μαθητής (*F. H. G.* ii. 299). Clement read his περὶ ποιητῶν (Athen. 352 c), and he is a frequent authority in Plutarch's *Lives*.

³ Cinaethon was the reputed author of the *Oedipodea* (*C. I. G. Ital.* et Sicil. 1292. ii. 11). Eusebius puts him as high as ol. 3. 3 (or 4. 2) and ascribes to him a *Telegonia*.

(c. 15) obtains the *Ilias parva* and *Phocais* from Homer, and passes them off as his own. Thestor occurs in the Homeric pedigree (Table). It is strange that Lesches, who worsted Arctinus, should have been content with a poem of four books. On the biographical poem which he seems to have written and on the forms of his name see p. 26.

Iliu persis: βιβλία β' Ἀρκτίνου Μιλησίου Procl. The same ascription is made by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 69 and the scholia BT on A 515. Only Pausanias x. 25. 5 gives the 'Ιλίου πέρσις to Lesches, probably by inadvertence, as Aristotle, *Poet.* 23, confuses the two poems. So we come back again to Arctinus, who with the *Titanomachia*, [the *Cypria*], the *Aethiopis*, and the *Iliu persis* has the lion's share of the Cycle, and may be regarded as a second Homer. He was apparently forced by Lesches' rising merits to yield him the 'Ιλιάς μικρά (as I remarked *C. Q.* 1908, 85). When the author of the Tabula Iliaca comes to this poem he gives Stesichorus as the author, and not Arctinus. How this should be interpreted is not too clear. It shows that Proclus' *Chrestomathia* is independent.

Nostoi: βιβλία ε' Ἀγίου Τροιζηνίου Procl. His name appears as Ἠγίας in Paus. i. 2. 1, as Ἀγίας in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 2. 12. 8. An Argive historian was called Ἀγίας, *F. H. G.* iv. 386. No date is forthcoming. We notice for the first time a poet of old Greece, which on the whole was more interested than Ionia in the *Nostoi*.

Telegonia: βιβλία δύο Εὐγάμμωνος Κυρηναίου Procl. His name recurs in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 2. 25. 1, among those who appropriated the works of others (καθάπερ Εὐγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον). Cyrene was founded 640-631 B.C. The *Telegonia* is dated anteriorly by this event, as the Hymn to Apollo by the foundation of Syracuse (*infra*): Eusebius, *Chron.* ii. 95, Schöne (Syncellus 454. 9) puts Eugammon's date as ol. 53, 566 B.C.

Accordingly, on the question of date the Cycle takes us from 753 B.C. (Antimachus of Teos) and 744 (Arctinus) to

the middle of the sixth century. The earlier poets are Ionian or Lesbian; in the seventh and sixth centuries the Muse visited the old world and the African colony. This is what Maximus of Tyre meant when he said (xvii. 5 a) *ἐὼ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις γενῶν οὐ λόγῳ μόνον πλαττόμεναι πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ γενόμεναι πολλὰ καὶ πολιτευθεῖσαι ὑγιῶς καὶ ξυνοικισθεῖσαι νομίμως ἀγνοοῦσιν τὸν Ὅμηρον. ὁψὲ γὰρ καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη ραψωδεῖ, ὁψὲ δὲ καὶ ἡ Κρήτη* [cf. p. 48], *ὁψὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ Δωρικὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ γένος.* The last allusion is unmistakable, and lends some support to Eusebius' date.

Another group of documents bearing the name of Homer, and analogous to the Cycle in their epic character, is the Homeric Hymns. The age of four of the five greater Hymns may be gathered from internal considerations, but the certainty does not amount to evidence that can be utilized for another purpose. Tradition exists only for one hymn, that to Apollo. Hippostratus, a Syracusan chronicler (*F. H. G.* iv. 432 sq.), says that of the Homerids no longer of Homer's family the school of Cynaethus were part. *Ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χῖος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὅμηρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γραφόμενον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκέναι· οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψόδησε τὰ Ὅμηρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξηκοστὴν ἐννάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα.* Cynaethus is mentioned also in the *voll. Hercul.* vi. 156, col. vii, Gomperz, *Szgb. Wiener Akad.* 1890, vol. 123, p. 38 *πὼς τα παρα κ[υ]ναιθω [ῆ] παρ ορ[φεί].* The date ol. 69 = 504 B. C. is impossible, since Syracuse founded in 733 cannot have been without Homer for two hundred years, the internal allusions and omissions in our hymn do not allow it to have been written at the beginning of the fifth century, and Thucydides could not have quoted a poem as Homeric which had been written less than fifty years before his birth. Therefore the numeral is wrong, as in Hippostratus, fr. 3, the numeral has been altered. If Syracuse had heard Homer for the first time in 504, how could the Athenian ambassador have quoted the Catalogue

to Gelo? Accordingly we rely on the anecdote, and say that Cynaethus lived and recited Homer at Syracuse soon after its settlement, that is before 700.

We may also adduce the era of Eumelus, founder of the Corinthian school of genealogical poets, who is said by Clement Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. 131. 8 πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχία τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι, which would take him back to at least 750; Eusebius refers him to ol. 4. 2 = 762 (Kinkel, *E. G. F.*, p. 186). Early in the next century we have Magnes, who under Gyges (716–678 according to Herodotus) wrote a poem on the war between the Lydians and the Amazons according to Nicolaus Damasc. fr. 62 (perhaps the Ἀμαζονία in the Suidean list of Homer's works); Aristetas the mage-poet of Proconnesus, whose second disappearance Herodotus (iv. 15) calculates at 670 B.C.; and Pisinus of Lindos, whose *Heraclea* was stolen from him by Pisander of Camisus, who himself flourished 648 B.C. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 25. 2, Suidas in Πείσανδρος).

We see that according to Greek tradition the age of post-homeric epos extended from shortly after the first Olympiad till well after the foundation of Cyrene. The poems consisted of the portions of the Trojan story which are not contained in our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the two sieges of Thebes, the heroic history of Corinth which belonged to the same period, the wars—heroic or prae-heroic—of the Lydian dynasty against the Amazons, the life of Hercules, and the personal adventures of Aristetas. The longer and strictly heroic poems belonged to the eighth century. The *Nostoi* has no date, the brief winding-up of Ulysses' family came last.

Is there anything to be objected to in these dates? They are of different values. Those of Arctinus and Cynaethus are annalistic. Artemon wrote a work called Ὁροι Κλαζομένων, older than Aelian who quotes it (see *F. H. G.* iv. 341): horographers or annalists (ὥρος = ἐνιαυτός Diod. i. 26. 5, Plut. *Mor.* 677 D, lex. Cyrill. in *an. Par.* iv. 194. 5, Berlin

glossary *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* 1918, 728 *ὅροι· ἐνιαυτοί*), of whom there were many,¹ compiled annals or yearly registers from the records of their communities—lists of kings, magistrates, priests, and priestesses, festivals and victors at them—and constitute the foundation of ancient chronology. In local matters, local patriotism must be allowed for, and if in his *περὶ Ὀμήρου* Artemon had claimed Homer for Clazomenae there would have been a reason for disbelieving him. But he only claims Arctinus, and him for Miletus, and it did not touch the credit of Miletus that this poet should have sung in ol. 9 rather than in ol. 10. Similarly with Cynaethus' date. Hippostratus is described as a Sicilian genealogist, older than Harpocration. In the passage where he refers to Cynaethus he makes no particular claims on behalf of Sicily: all he says is that Cynaethus was the first to sing Homer at Syracuse, and gives the year. Than local chronology, where the honour and *amour propre* of the locality are not involved, we can hope for no better evidence. And let not the Parian Chronicle be invoked with its date for Hesiod and Homer. These two poets had nothing to do with Paros: no entry about them stood in the city's register. The so-called Parian Chronicle opened with a view of ancient history arranged in periods, not unlike the Byzantine chroniclers who commence their history of their own times with a survey of the world since Adam; and the earlier entries have been shown by Jacoby (*Rh. Mus.* 59) to be reflections of the speculations of professional historians such as Ephorus. Even when the *Marmor Parium* comes to

¹ e.g. Plut. *Mor.* 867 A *ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων* (= *ἔρων*), 869 A *οἱ Ναξίων ὠρογράφοι*, 1132 A *ἡ ἀναγραφὴ ἣ ἐν Σικυνῶνι ἀποκειμένη δι' ἧς τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει*, and 1134 B: Aethlius *ἐν ε' ἔρων Σαμίων* Athen. 650 D, 653 F, Alexis *ἐν γ' Σαμίων ἔρων* id. 540 D, 572 F; Eugaeon, *ἔροι Σαμίων* (see p. 20, n. 2), Creophylus also of Samos (p. 48), Charon of Lampsacus, *F. H. G.* i. 34, Duris of Samos, *Σαμίων ἔροι* *F. H. G.* ii, fr. 47-68, Theolytus, ib. iv. 515, who cites the *Titanomachia*, Heropythus *ἐν ἔροις Κολοφωνίων* ib. iv. 428, Malaeus *ἐν τοῖς Σιφνίων ἔροις* Athen. 267 A. Not unlike was the work of Hypermenes, *F. H. G.* iv. 434, who *ἐν τῷ περὶ Χίου* told a story about Homer's servant, and that of Phanias *ἐν β' πρυτάνεων Ἐφεσίων* Athen. 333 A.

events relating to Paros it is not afflicted by *campanilismo*, it does not elevate Archilochus' date (Jacoby, *l. c.*, p. 78).

The date of Lesches depends first on Xanthus, next on Phanias, a literary historian and Peripatetic. His sources are not stated, but as he came from Eresos in Lesbos it is not too much to suppose that he consulted local registers; his statement that Lesches was earlier than Terpander and contested successfully with Arctinus gives no ground for suspicion, and the latter allegation agrees with the date given by Xanthus of Lydia, who had no interest in archaizing Lesches. The era of Antimachus of Teos is more inferential. Plutarch, *Romul.* 12, says that on the day of the foundation of Rome a lunar eclipse occurred: *ἢν εἰδέναι καὶ Ἀντίμαχον οἴονται τὸν Τήιον ἐποποιόν, ἔτει τρίτῳ τῆς ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος συμπεσοῦσαν*. No source is given, and we cannot tell how the lunar eclipse noted at Rome in 753 was identified with that mentioned by Antimachus. Still an eclipse cannot be invented.

In general these dates rest on the same evidence on which the whole of Greek chronology rests, and unless we are prepared to question the eras of Sappho and Alcaeus, Solon and Pisistratus, Pindar and Aeschylus, these dates, which rest on as good if not better—since more impartial—evidence, must stand. From the first olympiad onwards early Greek chronology is as sound as later, and the personages as real.¹ We further observe that these dates (750–550) for the Cycle and similar late epic literature agree with the circumstances. The long late epic poems, the *Thebais*, *Epigoni*, *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*, and Eumelus' poem, date from the great colonizing period of Ionia and Corinth, the eighth century. Connexion with the heroic age was still strong, the colonies derived their pedigree from heroes. Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) lent but little help in this respect; the rest of the Cycle, therefore, was of importance, both for the states of Miletus and Ephesus and Mitylene and for their offshoots. Moreover, in the eighth century

¹ On archaeological evidence for the period of the Cycle see Romagnoli, *Stud. ital. di filol. class.* ix (1901).

epos had no rival, the field was still clear. Epos had been invented, not so very long before, by Homer; and the effect of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was still so strong that sequels or introductions met with a public. Early in the seventh century new kinds of verse appeared. The elegy, the iambus, melos caught men's ears. Epos was not extinguished, but the spent wave could only carry the completion of the Cycle, the *Nostoi*, the *Telegonia* (a small *Nostos*), Pisinus, and Pisander, and one or two special epe such as the *Ἀμαζονία*. This was not the century to cast long epe of 9,000 or 7,000 lines before the public, especially as in the seventh century the old epic themes were themselves taken and given a new form by Stesichorus¹ and by Terpander (τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν πράξεων ἐπαινέτην, Plut. *Mor.* 238 c), and later the authority of Homer and Hesiod was mocked by Xenophanes. Real, if secondary, creation must be put back to its traditional date, the eighth century. The public still lived in the historical past and knew but one form of literature.

If then the major portion of the Cycle was composed in the eighth century, when were the two greatest specimens of epos, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, composed? The answer to this question depends on the view we take of the relation of the Cycle to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The ancients themselves began by ascribing the whole *corpus* to Homer. As time went on and the critical faculty began and increased, the ascription became guarded. In the technical writers the real names began to come to light.

Thus Callinus (s. viii-vii) quotes, as we have seen, the *Thebais* as Homeric;² Herodotus ii. 117 argues on critical

¹ Whose 'Ιλίου πέποις the Tabula Iliaca, as we have seen, uses instead of Arctinus'. Stesichorus' popularity was greater, but we do not need to infer the extinction of Arctinus' poem at that date unless the use by Pausanias of Alcaeus' and not the Homeric hymn to Hermes (Alcaeus, fr. 7) proves the extinction of the latter.

² Not much can be inferred from the story of the elder Clisthenes (600-570) in Herodotus v. 67, for Grote's ingenious idea (*History* ii. 174, adopted by Wilamowitz. *Hom. Untersuch.* 352) that the *Thebais* is referred to as 'Ομήρεια ἔπεα is groundless and now discredited. The glory of 'Argos'

grounds that the *Cypria* was not by Homer; he does not name the real author. That he so argued implies that the generalty had no doubts, and also that there was no serious counter-tradition known to him. He doubts also the authenticity of the *Epigoni* (iv. 32). He may have had a forerunner, but he must have been at least among the first to doubt. Hellanicus, his contemporary (p. 63), knew the *Ilias parva* was not by Homer, and ran a candidate; but Thucydides in the next generation accepts the hymn to Apollo as Homeric without a qualm.¹ In the third century B.C. Antigonus of Carystus quoted the hymn to Hermes as Homeric. Diodorus, Philemon, and Pausanias quote Homer without qualification as author of the Hymns. Aristides follows Thucydides in using the hymn to Apollo as Homeric, though the record of Cynaethus had long existed; but Aristides not only follows Thucydides, he compiles him. In Athenaeus and the scholia on Nicandr. *Alex.* 130, we get professional caution: "Ὅμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις 22 B, ἐν τοῖς εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀναφερομένοις ὕμνοις. In the case of the Cycle the real authors fought their way to the light with more success. Beside Proclus, who knows all their names, except that of the author of the *Cypria*, Stasinus is named by Clement, the scholiast on Plato, that on *A* 5, Athenaeus; and most authors shelter themselves behind ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας or similar phrases. Herodotus' scepticism may have started the fashion. By Aristotle's time (*Poet.* 23) distinction is made between ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα and Homer. Lesches is more frequently named for the *Ilias parva*, especially by Pausanias, Arctinus for the *Iliu persis* by Dion. Hal. and the scholiast on *A* 515, Agias for the *Nostoi* only twice (by Pausanias, fr. 7, and Clement, fr. 8). Homer himself is rarely named

was to have taken Troy, and 'Argos' had by Clisthenes' time come to be equivalent to Argolis. See Scott, *Unity of Homer*, 17 sqq. Mr. Scott quotes *Certamen* 309-14 as an example of the honours rendered to Homer by the historical Argos which appropriated to itself the 'Argives' of Homer.

¹ For Aristophanes' apparent recognition of the Cycle and Hymns see c. xi.

as author; we find either a paraphrase or \acute{o} τὸ δειῖνα πεποιηκώς or the real name.

If Homer had a kind of claim to all this epic literature—a rather strong claim to the Hymns, a weaker one to the Cycle—and the alternatives to admitting his claim were either anonymity or naming a definite poet, what explanation can be given of the phenomenon except that the whole literature was the work of a school, issued under the master's name and gradually taken from him either by the awakening of criticism, as in Herodotus' case, or by the survival and revelation of local tradition?¹ We have the complete parallel of the Hesiodic school (pp. 78 sqq.), whose canon was as strict as the Homeric was wide. The Hesiodeans guarded the *Works and Days* as alone authentic: on the other hand they did not give up the names of the disciples, authors of the *Theogonia* and the *Catalogi*. We only hear of Cercops of Miletus as a rival of Hesiod (Aristotle $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ γὰρ περὶ ποιητικῆς ap. D. L. ii. 46) and as author of the *Aegimius* (Ath. 503 D). Eumelus of Corinth had a school. In prose the great *corpora* of three schools are still in existence, the Hippocratean, the Platonic, the Peripatetic, and learned antiquity was well aware that the master's pen had by no means written the whole. Still another curious parallel is the *Orphica*. Epigenes ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀρφέα ἀναφερομένης ποιήσεως in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21) informs us about this. The poems were all ascribed to Orpheus, but the actual authors were poets and adepts of the sixth century, Onomacritus, Zopyrus, Prodicus, Cercops, Brontinus. As in the Cycle, so here the authorship of one poem was disputed; the εἰς ἄδου κατάβασις was variously given to Cercops and to Prodicus. The anonymity of the Pythagoreans is praised by Iamblichus, *vit. Pyth.* 198 καλὸν δὲ τὸ πάντα Πυθαγόρα ἀνατιθέναι τε καὶ ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ

¹ The principle of the school is formally recognized by David in *Arist. Categ.* 28 α νοθεύονται τὰ βιβλία πενταχῶς ἢ δι' εὐγνωμοσύνην μαθητῶν τὰ οἰκεῖα συγγράμματα τοῖς οἰκείοις διδασκάλοις ἀνατιθέντων, ὥς τὰ Πυθαγόρου καὶ Σωκράτους ἐπιγραφόμενα βιβλία, μὴ ὄντα Σωκράτους ἢ Πυθαγόρου ἀλλὰ Σωκρατικῶν καὶ Πυθαγορικῶν κτλ.

μηδεμίαν περιποιεῖσθαι δόξαν ἰδίαν ἀπὸ τῶν εὕρισκομένων εἰ μὴ πού τι σπάνιον· πάνυ γὰρ δὴ τινές εἰσιν ὀλίγοι ὧν ἴδια γνωρίζεται ὑπομνήματα. Yet again we may adduce the *ψευδεπιχάρμεια* (Athen. 648 D). The very respectable authority of Aristoxenus, Philochorus, and Apollodorus distributed these works, issued and quoted as by Epicharmus, between Chrysogonus and Axiopistus. Two hundred years later than the Cycle the same convention was kept up; but in a more developed literary world, at Pisistratus' court and in the case of poems written by Italians or Athenians, the anonymity which was possible for Homeric poems composed by vague Asiatics or Asiatic islanders could not be maintained.

We may still again compare the story in Plutarch, *Mor.* 150 A *ἦν δὲ Τροιζήνιος ὁ Ἄρδαλος, αὐλοφῶς καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν Ἀρδαλίων μουσῶν ἃς ὁ παλαιὸς Ἄρδαλος ἰδρύσατο ὁ Τροιζήνιος.* The coincidence with the title of the Hesiodeans is remarkable, and the transmission of the name. Pausanias in his account (ii. 31. 3) gives the Muses the patronymic *Ἀρδαλίδες*, which resembles *Παμφίδες* (p. 49): he says the original Ardalos invented the flute.¹

Of late it has become the fashion to deny this normal arrangement of a master and disciples, Homer and Homerids, and even with singular perversity to assert that the Cycle is older than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is only necessary to examine the contents of the Cyclic poems to laugh at this *κακοθές*. None of the Trojan cycle is complete, or forms any kind of unity. The *Cypria*, to use Aristotle's language, has a beginning but no end; the *Nostoi* is much in the same case. The *Aethiopis* and *Ilias parva* have neither beginning nor end; the *Iliu persis* has an end but no beginning; the *Telegonia* no beginning. Especially between the three central poems, *Aethiopis*, *Ilias parva*, and *Iliu persis*, there is no natural division at all.

¹ It will be seen that in the matter of the attribution of the Cycle to Homer I do not follow Professor J. A. Scott in his *Unity of Homer*, 1921: I agree with the review of his book by Mr. J. T. Sheppard, *C. R.* 1922, 169. See also E. Fitch, *Classical Philology*, 1922, 87 sqq.

The *Cypria* certainly begins at the beginning: with the purpose of Zeus and the apple of Ate. Then in eleven books it unfolds the first nine years of the war, and ends with the capture of Briseis and Chryseis, the murder of Palamedes, the purpose of Zeus to relieve the Trojans by detaching Achilles from the Greek cause, and a Catalogue of Trojan allies. Two of these events, according to different authorities, were the cause of the *menis* of Achilles, which immediately followed in the story, namely, the murder of Palamedes, according to Philostratus, *Heroic.* 302, 311, 322, cf. Dictys ii. 29, and the capture of Chryseis according to Homer. Why did Stasinus, having sown the seed of this quarrel, not develop the consequence? Why did he content himself with an enumeration of pointless events? For no other reason, evidently, than that the consequence of these events had already been described: he brought his tale up to the very moment at which another had taken it, and who but his master? Here intervened Homer, who, ignoring what possibly was the real cause of Achilles' *menis*, preferred the complication caused by these two young women.

The *Aethiopis* contains the successive arrivals and slaughterings of Penthesilea and Memnon, the death and funeral of Achilles, and a dispute between Ulysses and Ajax over his arms. This was a celebrated episode in heroic story, but Arctinus is content to announce the germ, without appropriating the account of the fruit. His poem, therefore, has neither beginning nor end. He begins where Homer had left off, and himself leaves off where his successor begins. His successor, Lesches, in fact begins with the judgement on this dispute, the *ὄπλων κρίσις*. He then enumerates the events of the last period of the war, down to the false retreat of the fleet to Tenedos, the reception into Troy of the Wooden Horse. Here he stops.¹ The tale is next taken up by Arctinus again, and the arrangement is so singular that I have suggested it must be due to a

¹ Lesches may be described following the *Odyssey* with variations. At least the scholia on δ 248 and 285-9 may be so interpreted.

covenant more or less à l'amiable between Arctinus and his younger rival; when Lesches 'competed with Arctinus and beat him' the elder yielded the younger a portion of the theme, the whole of which he had once marked out for himself. We may imagine we see here the arbitration of the Sons of Homer. Accordingly, the divisions between the *Aethiopis*, *Ilias parva*, and *Iliu persis* are mechanical and according to quantity. Arctinus continues in the *Iliu persis* with the story of the Wooden Horse, overlapping with Lesches according to Proclus' abstract.¹ He continues to the sack of Troy and the disastrous home-voyage of the Greeks. So far Stasinus and Arctinus were conditioned by the *Iliad*: Arctinus and Lesches by an agreed division of the spoil.

Agias with his *Nostoi* had a natural and well-defined subject. But why did he not finish it? He dealt with the most important heroes: why did he leave one out? There was one hero still afloat when all the rest had regained their homes. As Homer himself says α 11

ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον
οἴκοι ἔσαν πόλεμόν τε πεφευγότες ἡδὲ θάλασσαν·
τὸν δ' οἶον νόστου κεχρημένον ἡδὲ γυναικός . . .

If Agias omitted Ulysses, with all the possibilities that his *nostos* offered, what reason can he have had but that the field was already full, namely, that Ulysses' adventures had been told in the *Odyssey*? Evidently the *Νόστοι*, like the *Cypria*, was limited at the end; the *Odyssey*, where it now begins, was already in existence. The same remark applies even more obviously to the *Τηλεγονία*. The *Odyssey*

¹ We have two different accounts of the contents of these two poems. Aristotle (*Poet.* 23) says one or two plays could be composed out of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, ἐκ δὲ Κυπρίων πολλαὶ καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἰλιάδος πλέον ὀκτώ, οἶον ὕπλων κρίσις, Φιλοκτήτης, Νεοπτόλεμος, Εὐρύπυλος, Πρωχία, Λάκαιναι, Ἰλίου πέρις καὶ ἀπόπλους καὶ Σίνων καὶ Τρωάδες. These themes are in the wrong order, for Σίνων precedes the Ἰλίου πέρις and the ἀπόπλους; this circumstance of itself suggests that Aristotle did not here consult the books. Proclus, who did, since he made an abstract of them, is more accurate. Aristotle, if he misarranged the topics, also ran the μικρὰ Ἰλιάς and the Ἰλίου πέρις in his mind into one.

as we have it concludes with the armistice between Ulysses and the Ithacans. The *Telegonia* opens with the burial of the Suitors and continues with Ulysses' remaining foreign adventures and his death. Eugammon found the *Odyssey*, of the compass in which we now have it (that is, with books ψ and ω), in existence.

We conclude that a survey of the contents of the Cyclic poems shows that they can only be explained on the supposition that they filled up the portions of the *Tale of Troy* that had not already been told in epic form; and since these portions have always been attributed to Homer, that the Cyclic poets, Homer's disciples, appropriated as much of the *Tale of Troy* as their master had left.¹

If we read the earlier books of the *Odyssey*, we find that the whole subject of the Cycle, from the *Cypria* to the *Telegonia*, is touched by Homer; he assumed the story as known, and may have even dictated the treatment of it, as δ 242 may show. Here is a table of the Cyclic themes noticed:

Cypria θ 75 quarrel of Ulysses and Achilles.

79 Agamemnon at Delphi.

Aethiopis δ 185, λ 468 death of Antilochus.

Ilias parva δ 271 the heroes in the Horse. The scholia here appear to show that Lesches innovated by adding a detail (Anticlus): the detail in its turn reacted on the *Odyssey*.

δ 242 Ulysses in Troy.

η 7, λ 468 Nestor's prayer (?).²

ω 36 death of Achilles (or at the end of the *Aethiopis*).

Iliu persis θ 499 the Horse.

Nostoi γ 130 Nestor's story.

δ 365 revelation of Proteus to Menelaus.

¹ The Cyclic poems, if they had an author's name, bore only the title 'Ομήρου. If they had shown the names of their real authors there could have been no question of their real attribution.

² In the scholion on η 7 should one read ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἰλιάδι [μικρᾷ] Νέστορος εὐχῆς μετατίθεται? In the real *Iliad* Nestor prays O 372-6. In the *Ilias parva* the only mention of him is fr. 1.

Telegonia λ 119 Ulysses' last journey.

Now if the Cyclic poems were written between 750 and 550, and if they presuppose the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, of the compass in which we have them now, it follows that our *Iliad*, twenty-four books long, was in existence by the eighth century, and that the *Odyssey* was in existence before the uncertain epoch of the Νόστωι, and books 23 and 24 belonged to it before Eugammon's date 550. Any composition of them at any later period, any putting of them together by Pisistratus or another, much more the absolute creation of the *Tale of Troy* and the *Odyssey* in or about 600, the latest and wildest fiction, is absolutely barred. The school of Homer is seen dividing amongst themselves the leavings of the Homeric feast. They took two hundred years to do so; but before Pisistratus drew his first breath the Cycle was all but finished and the Homeric canon all but closed. All the Master's work had to fear was the occasional spasmodic pressure of later literature, epic in the first place and then every kind of composition (c. ix.).

The traditional dates of Greek epos seem to be sound. What reason had they to invent them? If the oldest μαθητής is found singing at ol. 9, how long before him did Homer pick his two subjects from the common stock and expand them into two immense poems? We have no rate by which to estimate the difference in time. But that the Master and his disciples were not a happy family who worked in one atelier appears from the difference in tone and outlook between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the one hand, and the Cycle on the other.¹ Arctinus, as was natural, was full of his actual world. Miletus was hellenizing the Euxine. The *Cypria* therefore sends Iphigenia to the Crimea, the *Aethiopis* sends Achilles to the mouth of the Danube. Homer does not let his world show through. He wrote nearer the heroic age, while it still

¹ For which see e. g. Monro, *Odyssey* xiii-xxiv. 340 sqq. : Lang, *The World of Homer*, 197 sqq. The geographical anachronisms are undeniable.

overshadowed the present, and while the colonies were still colonies occupied with their own concerns on the continent where their fathers had fought before they had become *metropoleis* in their turn. This is one difference between Homer and his disciples. Religion, it is admitted, is another. The convention which limited Homer's picture of religion had ceased to be valid. For these changes time is necessary. How much time we do not know.

CHAPTER IV

THE DATE OF HESIOD

IN this chapter I consider the evidence of Hesiod. Time has dealt hardly with the Boeotian singer, and has blown most of the tradition concerning him to the winds. His lives are Byzantine, and nearly all the statements about him in the old authors are in some way relative to Homer.¹ He has one marked characteristic. While tradition—and general belief—represented Homer and his work—Hymns, Cycle, and even parody—as one and indivisible, and only growing intelligence and the dawn of critical method eventually separated the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from the rest, the authorized view of Hesiod from the beginning was that the verses were not homogeneous.

When Pausanias came to Thespiae on his Boeotian round,² the representatives of the Corporation who owned the land and the *sagri luoghi*, the *συνθύται μουσῶν Ἑσιοδείων*, told him dogmatically that the *Works and Days* alone came from the Master's hand, and showed him the imperishable *ne varietur* copy on lead, wanting the prooemium which we read at the head of the poem. The great mass, then, of Hesiodic writings, the *Theogony*, *Catalogi*, *Ἡοῖαι*—of which no contemptible amount has been yielded of late by Egypt—and minor mantic lore, was the output of successors and disciples. This agrees with the Homeric circumstances,

¹ Beside the greater Alexandrians and Praxiphanes the Peripatetic, Hesiodic literature includes Amphion of Thespiae (ἐν β' περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι μουσείου Athen. 629 A), *F. H. G.* iv. 301, Cleomenes ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡσιόδου Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 14. 61. 2, Nicocles and Nicocrates (ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι ἀγῶνος) *F. H. G.* iv. 464, 5 (perhaps the same), two poets, Chersias of Orchomenus and Hegesinus in his *Ἀτθίς*, extinct in Pausanias' day and reported by the Corinthian Callippus ἐν τῇ ἐς Ὀρχομενίου συγγραφῇ (iv. 352, Paus. ix. 29, 38). The verses of Chersias resemble those of Lyceas the poetical guide (ὁ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐξηγητής) Paus. i. 13. 8, &c.

² For the reference see p. 48.

but the parallel is curiously in-and-out. The works of both schools bore the name of the Master; but whereas the post-Homeric poems were assigned in good time to their real authors, the anonymity of the Hesiodeans was unbroken. There are no claimants for the *Theogony*. At most we find Cercops of Miletus, Hesiod's rival according to Aristotle (ἐν γ' περὶ ποιητικῆς ap. D. L. ii. 46), put up for the *Aegimius* (Athen. 502 c). The Thespian tradition is borne out by the words of the writer of the *Theogony* when he says: 'I begin to sing the Muses of Helicon, who once taught Hesiodos his fair song as he shepherded his sheep under mighty Helicon.' These words can have no meaning but that the speaker and his predecessor were different. The near neighbourhood of the Nine Muses imposed this canonicity on the Hesiodic school; the influence of the Chian gild, if we believe the Homeric poems to have once been in their hands, was less authoritative.

The bulk, therefore, of the Hesiodic *corpus* is later than the *Works and Days*. Of the portion of this *corpus* which has survived, the *Aspis* has no allusion to determine the date of the *Catalogi* (from which its first portion was taken). The *Theogony*, however, in spite of the timelessness of its main subject, dates from a period which may be defined. It belongs to the class of poems which admit the actual world. As the Cycle anachronizes with eagerness, and admits into the heroic age the Greek colonies, the Euxine and the Crimean chersonesus, the *Theogony*, without anachronism indeed, recognizes the geography of its time. It mentions Aetna (860); Homer does not, unless the Cyclops be Aetna. Homer must have known Aetna, or at least that there was a snow-capped volcano in those parts, even if he did not know its name, for Mycenaean trade with Sicily had existed for centuries, and the argument that the portions of the *Odyssey* where Sicily is mentioned belong to the colonial period is one of the most extraordinary signs of the mental habit of the last generation of Homeric critics. The most unobservant trader must have noted

Aetna.¹ One passage, the list of rivers 337 sqq., is of much interest and value. I cannot discuss it in all its bearings, but I may say that while Father Nile here makes his entry on the geographical stage—a doubtful entry—and we also find for the first time the Po, the Strymon, the Danube, the Phasis, and the Haliacmon, we look in vain for the Halys, the Rhone,² and the Borysthenes. We are in the same world which lies on the horizon of the *Aethiopsis* and the *Cypria*, which allowed Artemis to shift Iphigenia to the Crimea, and Thetis to intern her son on an island at the mouth of the Danube. The Milesian settlements in the Euxine, or some of them, have taken place, but there is no west beyond Aetna, the Latins, and the Tuscans. For the writer is the first to utter these famous names. The *Τυρσσηνοί* are ruled by Circe's three sons, Latinus, Agrius, and Telegonus. They live *μάλα τῇλε μυχῷ νήσων ιερῶν*, that is, past Sicily and behind Capri, Ischia, and Circeii.³ There are no Italians,⁴ no continent, and no Tiber.⁵ On the whole, the writer had the same outlook as Arctinus of Miletus, who wrote ol. 9, '400 years after Troy'. There is nothing in the poem to drag it into the next century—and the same may be said of the fragments,⁶ most of which doubtless come from the *Κατάλογοι*.

We come next to the *Works and Days*, with the presumption that if its writer was the predecessor and model

¹ *mons Aetna nocturnis mirus incendiis*, Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 88.

² This is natural, if Massilia was not founded till 600 B. C. Timaeus, fr. 38, first mentions the river.

³ Theophr. *H. P.* v. 8. 3 καὶ πρότερον μὲν οὖν νῆσον εἶναι τὸ Κιρκαῖον, νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ ποταμῶν τινῶν προσκεχῶσθαι.

⁴ *Αὔσων* seems to appear first in Pindar, fr. 140 b 60, then in Scymnus 228.

⁵ Fick saw in *Ἄγριος* the man of the ager Latinus. But was there such a phrase in the eighth century? and the place is surely covered by *Λατίνος*. I have thought that *Ἄγριος* might = *campanus*, the native behind Cumae. The *Καμπανοί* occur in the Hesiodic parody of Euthydemus (Ath. 116 A) along with the Bruttians.

⁶ They introduce to the world the Macedonian, the Arab, the Ligurian and the Scythian, the Hyperboreans, the Eridanus again with its amber, and Ortygia.

of the Theogony-poet—and doubtless dead, as he that left untold the story of Cambuscan was when Milton wrote—the model turns the century. His book gives very vague evidence on the point. Neither its witch-wisdom, which Professor Murray has treated with his usual charm,¹ nor his Farmer's Almanac

γῆς ἐργασίας καρπῶν ὥρας ἀρότους

agreeably expounded by Professor Mair,² involve history. I return, indeed, to the Almanac, but I say good-bye to the witch-interest. Hesiod's observations also on the necessity for work, and the painful consequences of passing hours in the warm λέσχη in the winter, are not in time. The parts of the poem which do, however faintly, suggest a period are these. I may first remark that in Homer's case we have an extensive field of archaeological evidence by which to control and date his narrative, and it is to be hoped that we may ere long have written evidence also. But in the case of Hesiod the evidence for the early history of Boeotia is—Hesiod. When Strabo (402) sketches the history of the country he has nothing to mention between the Aeolic migration and the Persian war. The moderns have only added the Boeotian league of the sixth century, from the evidence of coins.³ Now Hesiod on his own showing is post-Dorian, a returned colonist from Cyme. I hold my hand, therefore, from the fascinating question of Boeotian origins, as much too early for Hesiod as the sixth century—which can only concern his last disciples—is too late.

The first passage in the *Works and Days* which we need examine is the famous list of Ages of the World, 109 sqq.⁴ This is an evident blend of archaeological memory and a theory of human degeneration. Bronze followed by iron

¹ In *Anthropology and the Classics*, Oxford, 1908.

² Oxford, 1908.

³ I refer to the article *Βοιωτία* by F. Cauer in Pauly iii. 1899.

⁴ Imitated by Aratus, *Phaen.* 108 sq. (gold, silver, bronze). I refer to Mr. Sikes' interesting remarks, *Anthropology of the Greeks*, 1914, pp. 33 sqq., and to Mr. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 12-14.

we know to be correct; but Hesiod's memory does not extend beyond bronze; he has no stone. On to this sequence were fitted members of the degeneration-series, gold and silver, and the whole was intended to exhibit the continuous decay of mankind. There is one exception in the downward course. Between bronze and iron Hesiod inserts the Heroes, who have no corresponding metal. The coincidence with apparent fact, that is to say, the civilization of the heroic age as depicted in Homer, is wonderful, and Hesiod has been used to support the belief that there was a period when both bronze and iron were in use, during which the Pelopidae and Aeacidae and other contemporary heroic houses ruled Greece and made war, some on Thebes and all on Troy. I am not averse from believing that Hesiod really meant that the age of Heroes intervened at this exact stage, though it is an inference from his words; but I must observe that, if we so believe, there is hardly any limit to the accuracy of the Greek historical memory. The traditional past of the Greeks will have to be accepted in many less difficult cases,¹ and literature, for instance Pindar's statements, will have to receive more respect. This conclusion I accept, as one who has never doubted the essential accuracy of the Greek recollection. Πιστὸν δ' ἀπίστοις οὐδέν, as Pindar says.

Here, however, I am only concerned with the fact that Hesiod knew of a time before iron existed, μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος, when men's armour, their tools, and their walls were of bronze. This emphatic statement must surely date from a period not long after the actual introduction of iron. This distinction between the metals as resources of civilization does not occur again in live literature. Iron must have been nearly as attractive as when the Suitors' fingers itched for it.²

¹ e.g. that the Dorians came from Pindus, and Pelops from Asia.

² The anecdote in Herodotus i. 68, which Mr. Sikes adduces, *l.c.*, p. 34, note 22, shows, it seems to me, admiration for the process rather than for the metal. The forge is always attractive. The antiquarian Apollonius of Rhodes ἐν τῷ ᾧ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων thought iron was called χαλκός by the

Again, the description of the Heroes implies nearness to them. The distinction indeed between Heroes and men was always made. In Pindar human ancestors begin with the return of the Heraclidae. Before that the sons of Aeacus, or whoever they may be, have a history on which Pindar dilates; but with the incoming of *ἄνδρες* the poet makes one step to the patron's maternal uncle. Hesiod draws this distinction, but in addition is acutely conscious of his own inferiority and that of his age, and of the virtue of the Heroes, a kind of set-back in the degeneration-series Silver-Bronze-Iron, and he trumpets their elevation from man to God. They all attain Elysian fields. Here Hesiod is of his age, the age that worshipped Zeus—Agamemnon, Diomedes, and Ulysses. He is aware of a once universal use of bronze, and of an essential difference between the men of his own time and their predecessors.

His recollection also is strong of the two exploits which composed the history of the Heroic Age, the two campaigns against Thebes and the one expedition against Troy. (The first Trojan war, when Heracles and Telamon battered down Laomedon's wall, he has forgotten.) Nothing has occurred in his own day to rival them, and the actual conditions are misery. The colony in Aeolis was no success, and justice in Boeotia is administered and property held by superiors who bear the title of *βασιλεῖς*. This does not mean 'monarch': the term appears to connote little more than 'gentilhomme'. We find this meaning currently in Homer, but not in ordinary literature. It is, therefore, another mark of age. The squire of Ascrea belonged to a different order. You might gild his palm, but he was your better. A political, perhaps racial, distinction is implied. Who were these *βασιλεῖς* whom the returned colonist found in Boeotia but the incoming Heraclids? We

ancients (a view we have seen revived): but his commentator was better informed, and quotes Hesiod (schol. Ap. Rh. i. 430). Pausanias, another antiquary, notices Homer's language and confirms it by some evidence (iii. 3. 8).

do not know the name of the baron of Ascera,¹ but Thebes was the property of the house of Aegeus. I am not aware that there were *πενέσται* in the Boeotian communities, but the wail 'fatigue and misery', *καμάτου καὶ οἰζύος*, seems to rise from such a class, as the time-honoured lament that the children are not like their fathers may point to a mixture of race. Such conditions are not often long existent; the subject race reasserts itself. Or if they are permanent they are accepted as natural. These laments do not recur in the Hesiodic school. I think it may be fairly argued that Hesiod wrote not long after the catastrophe which turned Agamemnon and Ulysses into objects of worship and produced the economic misery of the Boeotian farmer.

The autobiographical passage (654-62) which is a natural consequence of the mention of the sea, and must not be doubted on the evidence of an aesthetic judgement like Plutarch's,² asserts that the Master went across the Euripus to sing at the wake of Amphidamas at Chalcis. The same story, amplified, with Homer as the antagonist, is reported by Plutarch (*sept. sap. conv.* 153 r) from Lesches. Lesches by the rule of parsimony must, until the contrary is proved, be the Lesbian author of the *Ἰλιάς μικρά*, the contemporary of Arctinus (p. 26). This poet tells us that Amphidamas had been a stout warrior in the Lelantine war with Eretria. So far Hesiod was a contemporary of the Lelantine war. Unfortunately we are no nearer a date, for this struggle cannot be defined by anything later than the Dorian migration.

However, we see that the version of this story current in the latter half of the eighth century, that is to say in Lesches' day, is a heightened version of that in the *Works and Days*. The rival is named, and the theme is stated. We must therefore allow time—between the two accounts—for the story to grow, and pass the sea to Lesbos. We

¹ Who is the hawk held out in the apologue 202 sqq.? Thebes?

² Ἐμβεβλήσθαι φησιν ὁ Πλούταρχος οὐδὲν ἔχοντα χρηστὸν Proclus (see Rzach's note on 654).

gain a second piece of chronological evidence similar to that of the *Theogony* with its mention of the Master by name. Both regard Hesiod at a distance, and in so far push the *Works and Days* considerably back.

We may turn round and say that the Lelantine war also is carried considerably back, and clearly into the ninth century; and who can say that this is unlikely?

I hesitate to invoke Hesiod's horror of the water, as this is a lasting convention, and was sincerely held in late antiquity;¹ or his mention, though the first, of 'black men', *κυανέων ἀνδρῶν* (527).

Here we may consider the traditional dates ascribed to Hesiod. They are fewer than those given to Homer, which vary from the siege of Thebes to the time of Gyges, but they are sufficiently various. The Parian Chronicle, one of the treasures of the University of Oxford, puts him at 936 B.C. Pliny the Elder arrives at much the same date expressed in terms of the era of himself. The *βίος* which has come down to us through Tzetzes puts Hesiod in the archontate of Archippus, the third Codrid. This would bring him nearer 1000. There were, however, more moderate estimates. Apollodorus made him live between 846-777.² Eusebius and some others put him in the eighth century. We are unaware of the grounds that the original calculators of these dates had for their conclusions. The late dates ascribed to Homer (e.g. the seventh century by Euphorion and Theopompus) may be confidently treated as critical conclusions, that is dates arrived at by observations of allusions in poems attributed to Homer (as he was held

¹ Aratus, *Phaen.* 110; it was a source of luxury, Greece having too much coast, Dicaearchus, fr. 73; the Lacedaemonians were forbidden *ναύτας εἶναι καὶ ναυμαχεῖν*, Plut. *Mor.* 239 E. See the authorities in Stobaeus, *Ecl.* iv. 17 *περὶ ναυτιλίας καὶ ναυαγίων*. The elder Cato regretted three things, of which the second was *πλεύσας ὅπου δυνατόν ἦν πεζεύσαι*, Plut. *Cat. maj.* 9. Strabo on the other hand, an Asiatic and a traveller, gives the plain facts: *ἀμφίβιοι γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ ἔσμεν, καὶ οὐ μᾶλλον χερσαῖοι ἢ θαλάττιοι* (9).

² Apoll. fr. 6, ap. Jacoby, 'Apollodorus' Chronik' (*Phil. Untersuch.* xvi. 1902, 118-20). The dates are an inference from Solinus xl. 16, 17, part of whose statement is *in auspiciis olympiadis primae obit*.

to be blind on the strength of the Hymn to Apollo), and probably this is the case with Hesiod also. The Parian date, which practically coincides with Herodotus', ii. 53, is explained by Jacoby, who has devoted much labour to these matters, as a reproduction of the views of Ephorus, who as a Cymaeon himself gave his countryman precedence by a generation over Homer, as he indicated by the pedigree in his ἐπιχόριος (Plut. *vit. Hom.* i, c. 2):¹



The coincidence makes this view likely enough, but we do not know what induced Ephorus to choose the period 940-900 for his two heroes. The evidence derivable from the *Theogony* and the anecdote in Lesches justify us in rejecting an eighth-century date for Hesiod's birth, but as between the ninth and tenth we are helpless.

This is not all the evidence. Hesiod has given us his apparent astronomical date. *O. D.* 564 he fixes the time in spring for cutting over vines by the rising of Arcturus, which appears above the streams of Ocean, that is the horizon, in the evening sixty days after the winter solstice. Arcturus' rising nowadays occurs fifty-seven days after the χεῖμερῖναι τροπαί, and therefore we have the apparent date for an astronomical determination. I am not the first by any means to have recourse to this evidence,² and my obligation is all the greater to the late Radcliffe Observer, who was at the pains to make a new and elaborate calculation. I am only sorry to have appealed to Dr. Rambaut's

¹ For this and other pedigrees see the Table. In an interesting paper in the *Revue Historique*, 1914, vol. cxvii, M. Pierre Waltz makes the Hesiodic civilization later than the Homeric, mainly from economic considerations and the greater distinction of trades and professions.

² See De Morgan in *Hesiod, the Poems and Fragments*, done into English prose, with introduction and appendices by A. W. Mair, 1908, p. 135; J. B. Pearson, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, vol. iii, part iii (1877).

skill and labour in a matter where a positive historical conclusion seems to be so uncertain.

For, before we go any farther, is the figure *ἑξήκοντα* to be taken literally, or is it a round number? This amounts to asking whether a hexameter-writer is likely to express units as well as decads. The contingents of ships in the Catalogue afford some evidence. There are twenty-nine entries; in twenty-three the figures are decads—100, 90, 80, &c. But the remaining six give us totals of 22, 12, 11, 9, 7, and 3. The Suitors again are reckoned down to the last man:

*ἐκ μὲν Δουλιχίου δύο καὶ πενήκοντα
κούροι κεκριμένοι, ἕξ δὲ δρηστήρες ἔπονται·
ἐκ δὲ Σάμης πίσυρες καὶ εἴκοσι φῶτες ἔασιν·
ἐκ δὲ Ζακύνθου ἔασιν εἴκοσι κούροι Ἀχαιῶν,
ἐκ δ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης δυοκαίδεκα πάντες ἄριστοι,*

and no one will have forgotten the arithmetical machine employed to prove that the Greeks were more than ten times as strong as the Trojans (*B* 122 sqq.). It appears then that a hexameter-writer of this period, while perhaps inclining to decads, could when he chose express any two figures without difficulty; and therefore, given Hesiod's practical aim, and that an almanac is hardly literature, we may take 'sixty' literally, and not as a convenience for 61 or 59; though the other possibility must be kept in mind, and with a round figure of course the evidence disappears.

If 'sixty' is taken literally, Dr. Rambaut's calculation disposes of Ephorus' date at once; for he will only admit the sixty days to be possible of 850 B.C., and that with reluctance. I of course accept this conclusion and throw Ephorus overboard. If we next try to utilize the astronomical evidence for a positive date, we must again consider the possibility that Hesiod took his figures from a predecessor, and that they were true of another time and place, not of Boeotia in the ninth century. This objection,

which one would apply without scruple to a tragedian or to Virgil, seems less cogent the further we go back. We do not admit without some show of evidence that Hesiod had a predecessor of a different latitude, or a predecessor at all. Statements about the time of year to do something to plants must have a beginning; they cannot be handed on like miracles and descriptions of places from one Saint's life to another; they are not true of distant climes: vines in particular are not widely distributed, the ploughman from the sun his season takes, and the practical tone of Hesiod's calendar, designed to regulate the all-essential duty of periodic labour, inclines one to believe that Hesiod's almanac was correct of his own period. Taking therefore Dr. Rambaut's anterior limit, 850 B.C., as available evidence, I find that this determination agrees with Apollodorus' date of 846-777; Hesiod's *floruit*, when he may be supposed to have written (as his tone is that of an elder to a junior), will be about 800. This date I believe was acceptable to Dr. Rambaut's conscience. Hesiod's birth about 850 does not contradict Herodotus' jealous '400 years and no more before me'; and leaves about the right time to enable the author of the *Theogony* and Lesches to look back to Hesiod as a Master with a growing tradition.

If, on the other hand, it were thought better to consider 'sixty' a round number, which Dr. Rambaut was rather inclined to do, and neglect Arcturus altogether, I should still on the remaining evidence propose this date, as the latest which agrees with the other conditions.

Having dated Hesiod we have next to ask the origin of his school, the Boeotian epos; and its relation, temporal and causal, to the Homeric or Ionian.

Hesiod may be thought to have settled these questions himself, if he returned to Greece from Cyme, the very centre of colonial epos, and began with the help of the Muses to give out good counsel and sound knowledge. He might appear to have brought the old epic art with him and practised it in his new home. This may be the truth

and the Boeotian school an escape from the Ionian. But the evidence must be stated. We have to observe that the Muses Hesiod invoked, and the Muses who through the centuries lived on Helicon, are not the Muses of the *Iliad*. The Hesiodic Muses, to whom the Corporation did sacrifice through the centuries to Pausanias' days, were Heliconian. In Homer that mountain belongs to Poseidon. The Homeric Muses reside, so far as they have a residence, at Dorion in Nestor's kingdom, in the north of the historical Messenia. They are called 'Olympian' once, it is true, but in the same sense as the Gods generally are Olympian. It was to Dorion that Thamyris, a Thracian, whose last host was Eurytus, baron of Oechalia opposite Tricca, not far from the pass which led to Dodona—himself an innovator, who challenged Apollo with the bow θ 224—it was to Dorion that Thamyris came and defied the Muses to sing, with the results that we know.¹ By Hesiod's time the Πίερες,² southern Thracians—to Homer a mere landmark like Emathia, between Olympus and Athos—had sent their Muses, friends of Thamyris, south. Hesiod found these strange maids seated on Helicon, and to them he prays.

The event was not forgotten in tradition. Strabo (471) tells us that 'Helicon was consecrated to the Muses by Thracians who had settled in Boeotia', and the same Thracians play a part in Strabo's account of the formation of the Boeotian state. Along with Pelasgi they drove the Boeotians north (evidently into the southern basin of the Peneus), where they lived long with the Ἀρναῖοι; eventually they returned to their own land, and 'were all called Βοιωτοί'. See *Catalogue*, 42 sqq. This account, taken no doubt from Ephorus (who intended it as a counterblast to Thucydides' story), represents the same people dispossessing the earlier inhabitants of Boeotia and planting

¹ B 594: he continued to expiate his sins, e.g. in the Necyia of the Μαννάς, fr. 3, 4, along with Amphion.

² θ 224 sqq. This is the only mention of the word in Homer (except ε 50 from which nothing can be inferred). B 766 it is a false reading. By the sixth century the Pieres had been pushed as far east as Pangaeum (Herod. vii. 112, Thuc. ii. 99).

their Muses on Helicon. The same story appears in a kind of 'evening edition' in Pausanias ix. 29. A poet, Hegesinus,¹ extinct in Pausanias' day, but quoted by one Callippus *ἐν τῇ ἐς Ὀρχομενίου συγγραφῇ*, wrote a versified *Atthis*, in which he related the foundation of Ascrea, and how it was Ephialtes and Otus, sons of Aloeus, who first sacrificed to the Muses on Helicon, Muses three; it was the Macedonian Pieros who raised them to nine, if indeed they were not his own daughters. And Mimnermus, in the proem to his lines on the Smyrnaeans who fought against Gyges, i. e. in the reasonable times of the seventh century, distinguishes between dynasties of Muses.

So when Hesiod returned from Aeolis to Ascrea he found a school of verse at Thespieae, and under its inspiration strung his thoughts together? This may be, but the further inference is not very clear.

The nature of the singing which came (with other things) from Thrace is quite unknown. It is often supposed to have been Orphic.² Orphic is a vague term: in the age of Pisistratus, and of his Minister of Religion and Cults, Onomacritus, Orphic and Pythagorean doctrine was embodied in a series of hexameter poems attributed by a pious fiction to Orpheus. But the date of the descent of this kind of creed from the north—if it came from the north—into Greece is unknown, and there is no reason to push it back to the Dorian invasion. Moreover it is improbable that mountaineers descending, whether in one flood or in various streams, from the Haliaemon possessed a form of verse the exact counterpart of the elaborate Homeric hexameter. Hesiod's subject too is separated *toto caelo* from anything approaching Orphism.

¹ Hegesinus, Kinkel, *E. G. F.*, p. 208; Callippus, *F. H. G.* iv. 352; Mimnermus, fr. 13.

² I refer to the formidable article of Gruppe in Roscher, vol. iii. 1. Whether the statement quoted by Frazer (Pausanias v, p. 154) that there was a Bulgarian poet of the name of Orfen is confirmed I cannot say. The name would correspond to the form Ὀρφῆν Ibycus, fr. 10 A (if this is a nominative).

The Heliconian Muses are more likely to have brought the paeon or the nomos with them. The paeon has been lately derived from the Paeonians,¹ and in default of any even plausible etymology of the word as a common noun this is likely enough. Its mention in Homer may be called, if necessary, an anachronism. The nomos orthios, which Homer does not know, is given by one fragment of tradition to Thamyras;² and its epithet sounds more like the Spartan goddess *FOPΘIA* than the undistinctive attribute 'shrill'. Some violent discord of this kind, paeon or nomos, must have made the Triphylian Muses blind Thamyras. And when Hesiod was 'excluded from the Delphic agon because he could not sing and play the cithara at the same time',³ does this mean he was ignorant, as an Ionian, of the new music? or does it mean the same as Nicocles' statement, schol. Pind. *Nem.* ii, init., that Hesiod was the first rhapsode to recite without the phorminx?

It seems probable then that we should conceive of the new Thracian music as melic or lyric,⁴ and of Hesiod as coming from a rhapsode-centre in Asia and adapting that narrative-art to the sad circumstances of Boeotia. This is the usual view,⁵ and it clearly entails the dependence of Boeotian epos upon the Ionian school, and therefore the priority of Homer, the master of that school, to the ninth century.

We see of course that the language is practically identical with that of Homer; the verse, though rough in places, is

¹ C. R. 1912, 249.

² Ὀρθιον νόμον Θαμύρα. ὁ καθαρωδικὸς τρόπος τῆς μελωδίας, ἀρμονίαν ἔχων ταύτην καὶ ῥυθμὸν ὠρισμένον. ἦσαν δὲ ζ', ὧν εἷς ὁ ὀρθιος: gloss on Herod. i. 24 (Stein, vol. ii, p. 449). Thamyras is omitted in the fragments of this notice which are scattered in Suidas. The form in -as is called Attic in the lexicon of Cyril, *an. Par.* iv. 183. 14.

³ Paus. x. 7. 3 λέγεται ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος ἅτε οὐ καθαρίζεν ὁμοῦ τῇ ψῶδι διδασκόμενον. Chersias or Hegesinus are probably responsible for the story.

⁴ πρῶτος ἡράσθη παιδὸς Ὑμεναίου (Suid. in Θάμυρις) seems a distant way of stating this. The words ὕμνος, ὑμῆν, ὑμέναιος are clearly connected.

⁵ Rzach, in Pauly.

the same. The predominance of Ionian epos over the *Theogony* is shown by the presence alongside of the Nile and the Ister of the absurd Trojan water-courses which had already received the canonization of the Cremera and the Rubicon. Hesiod here copied his predecessor, as Polybius tells us every writer did till his own day, when πάντων πλωτῶν καὶ πορευτῶν γενομένων people could see things with their own eyes. Moreover we have the palpable imitation of Σ in the *Aspis*. Points of contact indeed between the *Works and Days* and Homer are few. They have a proverb in common, to the effect that shame is out of place in a poor man, but probably neither published it for the first time.¹ We cannot expect to be able to compare a small Dutch-built craft of 800 lines with two swelling galleons of 15,000 and 12,000. Still, when Hesiod mentions Aulis it suggests to him the winter the Greeks lay there before they sailed for Troy; and the past heroic age possessed equally minds on either side of the sea. Hesiod marks the misery of the present, the Boeotian townships under their Dorian masters. Homer, who was perhaps better off in Ionia, shuts his eyes fast to his own world, and decks his nation's past, the age which had brought down Thebes and set Troy alight, in all the colours of passion and marvel.

APPENDIX ON *WORKS AND DAYS*, 564 sqq.

*Extract from a Letter by ARTHUR A. RAMBAUT, F.R.S.,
late Radcliffe Observer.*

The problem is not without difficulties arising from the vagueness of the statements and the uncertainty of the data. I am afraid the lines of the poem will hardly suffice to fix the date of Hesiod with any precision; but they may possibly serve to place a limit below which it must lie, and I believe they show that the traditional date, 930 B.C. or thereabouts, is much too early.

I take it that the fourth line in the passage must be translated 'first rises brilliantly shining', or perhaps I might say

¹ ρ 347, 352, O.D. 317.

'first rises visibly', 'at the beginning of night', i. e. 'in the evening twilight'. Now the first rising of a star in twilight is a most indefinite kind of phenomenon. Had we been given the last time on which it rose in twilight the problem would be more definite. But we must take the statement as we find it.

In the early part of February, say forty days after the Winter Solstice, the star would not rise until twilight was over and the eastern sky would be quite dark when the star appeared above the horizon. Each day the rising would occur about four minutes earlier than on the previous day, until a date arrived when the rising took place before the full darkness of night had set in. But it is hard to say precisely when twilight ends and darkness begins, and in determining this moment a great deal will depend on the idiosyncrasy of the observer.

Ancient astronomers devoted a good deal of attention to this phenomenon, and we are not without indications as to what their views were on the point. The question has also engaged the attention of modern investigators, but in discussing the meaning of the words of an ancient poet it will be best to be guided by the views of the ancients so far as they have come down to us. From a statement of Pliny's it would appear that Posidonius (80 B. C.) considered that twilight lasted till the sun had sunk 19° below the horizon. This, however, corresponds to the last vestige of daylight. The great Alexandrian astronomer Ptolemy (A. D. 130) fixes the appearance of first magnitude stars at the moment when the sun is 12° below the horizon. At this time there would still be a small but perceptible amount of light remaining. Let us call this a 12° twilight.

When a 12° twilight is reached the stars of the first magnitude begin to be visible, according to Ptolemy. But Arcturus is brighter than an average first magnitude star, and at any considerable altitude would ordinarily be seen in a brighter sky. On the other hand, in the problem before us the star is by hypothesis close to the horizon, where the increased thickness of the atmosphere would diminish its brightness. Setting one consideration against the other, however, we cannot be far wrong in concluding that when the poet says the star first rose 'at the beginning of night' he may be taken to mean in a 12°

twilight. The deeper the twilight we postulate the later will be the date indicated by the passage, whilst, if we assume that a very much brighter twilight is intended, it is doubtful whether the star would be visible at all to the naked eye; it would certainly not be conspicuous to the ordinary farmer. Thus a 6° twilight is, I believe, out of the question.

But we must consider what is meant exactly by the word *ἐπιέλλεται*. We can hardly suppose, I think, that the true astronomical rising, or even the apparent rising as accelerated by refraction, is here intended. A star would hardly be seen exactly on the horizon even though as bright as Arcturus is and in a clear, pellucid atmosphere like that of Greece. We must, therefore, give it a little margin, and suppose that the word still applies though the star may have reached an apparent altitude of 1° or 2° above the horizon, but I do not think that a star which had reached an altitude of 4° (equal to eight times the moon's diameter) above the horizon could, even in the loosest way of speaking, be said 'to rise'.

The passage with regard to the Pleiades, to which you referred me, while it cannot itself be used for determining Hesiod's date, throws, I think, some light on this point, that is to say, with regard to the height above the horizon at which the star would have been first detected near its rising.

Having computed the position in the sky of Alcyone (the principal star in the Pleiades group) for the year 900 B.C., a star which, being only of the third magnitude, would require a 14° twilight to become visible at all, I calculated its period of invisibility in the latitude of Athens and I find that, in order to account for a period of forty days as Hesiod gives, it must have been possible to follow the star down to within about 1° of the western horizon, and to pick it up again at the Eastern horizon at about the same altitude. Of course I cannot claim any high degree of precision for this result, but if a star of the third magnitude like Alcyone were visible within a degree or two of the horizon it is clear that Arcturus, which is more than ten times as bright, could hardly escape the same observer within the same limit of altitude.

I have, therefore, not contented myself with merely calculating the times of the true, and apparent, rising of the star

but have also computed the times at which it reached the altitudes 1° , 2° , 3° , and 4° , although I think that the last is quite incompatible with Hesiod's expression if I understand it aright. Also, as there may be some doubt as to Hesiod's latitude, I have computed the times for the latitudes $37^\circ.5$ and $38^\circ.5$, and from these, by interpolation, have deduced the results for latitude 38° .

I may perhaps say that Mr. Pearson's method of calculating the times of rising of the star and setting of the sun in those early days, as given in the paper you sent me, is of a rather rough and ready kind. He makes what he would probably call a *bold* shot at the change in the obliquity of the ecliptic, i. e. the change in the relative position of the planes of the Earth's equator and the Earth's orbit, but he does not appear to have taken any account of the change in the position of the orbit in its own plane, or of the change in the form of the orbit between Hesiod's time and ours. His mode of allowing for the precession of the equinoxes, although primitive, is fairly correct, but he has committed a grave error in neglecting altogether the proper motion of the star in virtue of which it has altered its position relatively to the other stars by more than $1^\circ.5$ in the interval which has elapsed.

In computing the following table I have allowed for the various changes enumerated in the last paragraph, calculating from modern tables with all needful precision, that is to say, with all the precision necessary to ensure an accuracy of a minute or so in the computed times. I do not think any of the figures given in my table can be in error by as much as two minutes. They are all expressed in apparent solar time, not mean time, at the place of observation, wherever that may be, so that no question of Hesiod's longitude comes in.

An examination of the table will show that no date down to 850 B. C. will satisfy the conditions as I have supposed them to be. For instance, if we take the latitude of Helicon, about $38^\circ.5$, then on the given date—i. e. sixty days after the Winter Solstice—the sun reaches a depth of 12° below the horizon at $6^h 26^m$. But in 850 B. C. the star has reached an altitude of 4° nearly half an hour previously. It had reached an altitude of 2° no less than forty-six minutes before the 12° twilight began.

Even if we assume the latitude to have been as low as $37^{\circ}5$, the time of the star's rising, allowing it any reasonable margin, will still precede that of a 12° twilight, nor is it possible, previous to the year 850 B.C., to make the time of the star's appearance follow that of the sun's reaching 12° below the horizon. Even if the possibility of a brighter twilight be admitted in order to make the time of star-rise equal to that of the 'beginning of darkness' we must suppose the star to have reached an altitude of at least 3° when spoken of as rising.

I think it is quite clear, therefore, that down to 850 B.C. this star cannot be said to have risen at the beginning of darkness on the 60th day after the Solstice, and if a later year is inadmissible I am afraid the poet's expression cannot be reconciled with the astronomical facts.

In all this I have assumed that the *ἐξήκοντα* is to be taken as exact. The interval elapsed since the Solstice might possibly have been determined with a fair degree of precision, but if the accuracy of this datum is open to question another source of uncertainty is introduced, and I might point out that an error of one day in this alone would bring about as large a change in the time of rising, or of reaching any given altitude, as an error of half a century in the year.

It just occurs to me that, should you think it worth while to get some one in Boeotia or Attica to make observations for you as to the first rising of Arcturus in twilight at the present time, some light might possibly be thrown on this question. Such observations should be made during the month of March or the early days of April. In the present year (1914) Arcturus will rise on March 13 after the sun has sunk below the horizon to a depth of 18° , when total darkness will have begun. On April 2 the star will have reached an altitude of 4° above the horizon before the sun has sunk 6° below it, and so it could not be said any longer to rise in twilight.

All that such an observer need do is to observe accurately the time at which Arcturus is first seen in the Eastern sky and the time at which twilight ends on as many days as possible between March 13 and April 2. Assuming we know his geographical position we could then compute the positions of the sun and star with regard to his horizon.

SIXTY DAYS AFTER THE WINTER SOLSTICE.

RISING OF ARCTURUS.

Latitude.	37½°			38°			38½°		
Date.	950 B.C.	900 B.C.	850 B.C.	950 B.C.	900 B.C.	850 B.C.	950 B.C.	900 B.C.	850 B.C.
True Rising	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.
Appt. „	5 26 5 22	5 30 5 26	5 34 5 30	5 23 5 19	5 27 5 23	5 32 5 27	5 20 5 16	5 25 5 20	5 29 5 24
Altitude 1°	5 30	5 34	5 38	5 27	5 31	5 35	5 24	5 28	5 32
„ 2°	5 38	5 42	5 46	5 35	5 39	5 43	5 32	5 36	5 40
„ 3°	5 46	5 50	5 54	5 43	5 47	5 51	5 40	5 45	5 49
„ 4°	5 54	5 58	6 2	5 51	5 55	5 59	5 49	5 53	5 57

SUNSET.

Latitude.	37½°	38°	38½°
Sunset	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.
6° Below	5 29	5 28	5 27
12° „	5 56	5 56	5 56
12° „	6 27	6 27	6 26
18° „	6 57	6 57	6 57

NOTE ADDED LATER.

With regard to the apparent brightness of Arcturus near the horizon and the degree of twilight at which stars of different magnitudes become visible as the twilight increases much valuable information may be obtained from an important paper by Herr J. F. Julius Schmidt, formerly Director of the Royal Observatory, Athens. The paper is entitled 'Ueber die Dämmerung' and is published in the *Astronomische Nachrichten*, No. 1495.

In this paper the author gives a table showing the depression of the Sun below the horizon at which stars of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th magnitudes successively become visible at the zenith, and in another table he exhibits the successive altitudes at which, in consequence of the absorption of light in the atmosphere, the star Arcturus is reduced in brilliance by well-defined gradations, until at an altitude of 1°·2 it appears to him no brighter than a star of the 5th magnitude does at the zenith.

This table would, I think, prove useful to any one studying the question.

A. A. R.

CHAPTER V

LANGUAGE

TRADITIONAL evidence, the evidence given explicitly in documents or which may be inferred from them, comes to this, that the school of Homer was at work in the middle of the eighth century, and Hesiod, who appears, though not certainly, to imply Homer, fifty years before. Up to 800 we may say that Homer is referred to and taken for granted, but not seen. To get beyond this period, if indeed we can, we must try other evidence, and, first, that of language.

It is natural to suppose that one will be able to tell the age of a piece of literature in a particular speech from its language and its style. We can say fairly certainly if hexameters on a new papyrus are Hesiodic or Alexandrian. The Homeric poems have a style and a language, and we know that both are materially older than ordinary Greek, in vocabulary, phonetics, and syntax; but when it comes to assigning a positive age to them we are met by the difficulty that there is no Greek language wherewith to compare them. Our first-hand evidence for the Greek tongue, that is, its inscriptions, stops, or begins, at 600 B. C.; beyond that there is some surviving literature (Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns), but it is in the Homeric dialect, and, like all literature, phonetically uncertain owing to the changes it may have undergone in transmission. We can say that Hesiod's language is not quite the same as that of Homer; and that the Hymns (on the evidence, for instance, of the decay of the digamma) are later than Homer; but no date for Homer can be elicited from this literature but what amounts to his priority, a conclusion we have just arrived at from the historical side. Only, therefore, the most distant conclusions are possible.

The language of the Heroic age is the most mysterious subject connected with it. It is, as it were, suspended between two poles. At one end we have the ample though late inscriptions of Hellas; at the other the unknown language of Crete, in an unknown alphabet; the similar alphabet of Cyprus, which (in the fourth century) contains Greek; the known Semitic, Egyptian, and Babylonian tongues; the unknown speech of the Hittite empire, from Sinope to Damascus; the equally unknown tongues of the West Asian peoples, Cilicians, Lycians, Carians, Lydians, Phrygians, Trojans. It is possible, one may say probable, that of all these tongues one may give us an earlier stage of the language of Homer, but till they are read no statement but a provisional one can be made. No one can say what language Agamemnon's mother talked, nor his subjects' name, nor what the Cretans called themselves, much less if the language of the Minoan civilization were Greek.

All we can do is within the limits of Greek to compare the language of epos with later Greek and to find a relation between it and the historical dialects. The ancients, who knew an Ionic Homer, whose birthplace was disputed by Chios, Smyrna, and Ephesus, and who saw that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* presented many of the peculiarities of historical Ionic (augments often omitted, open vowels, η for \bar{a} , absence of digamma, $\epsilon\omicron$ contracted into $\epsilon\nu$, Ἀθηνέων for Ἀθηνῶν), naturally said that the language of Homer was Ionic; but as it was clearly not the same as the language of Hippocrates and Herodotus (inasmuch as η is not universal where the metre does not prevent it—as in $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$ ¹ and *Ναυσικάα*—vowels are closed where open in Herodotus, as $\phi\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\epsilon$, and the augment often remains), they said that Homer's language was $\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \text{Ἰ}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. Herein they were right, but in Homer there are elements which do not agree with Ionic proper, old or young. It is common knowledge

¹ This case struck the ancients: $\tau\acute{o}\ \lambda\alpha\acute{o}s\ \acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron>s$ (sic) $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho'\ \text{Ὀμήρῳ}$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\iota\ \tau\eta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \text{Ἰ}\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\ \tau\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \lambda\eta\delta\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \text{Ἰ}\pi\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\varsigma$ [fr. 88] Epimerismi in cod. O 8, *an. Ox.* i, p. 265 in v. $\Lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$.

that Homer reads like a mixed dialect.¹ His vocabulary (where it departs from the ordinary word-stock) resembles that of Arcadia and Cyprus, hundreds of years later.² Cyprus was the colony of Arcadia, and both represent the oldest form of the language of the Peloponnesus, to which Kretschmer has given the name Ionic (*Glotta* i. 9 sqq.). Among such words³ are (Cyprian) αὐτάρ, ἰδέ, ἀνώγω, ἀναξ, ἡβαιόν, κασίγνητος, κέραμος prison, πόσις husband, πρύλις, σπέος, (Arcadian) ἄορ, ἀπύω, ἀσκηθής, αὐδή, δέατο, λυκάβας, μέσφα, χηλός, χραισμεῖν, (both) αἶσα = μοῖρα, βόλομαι, νυ in τάνν, τόνν. In its word-formation, or what we may call spelling, it has obvious resemblances to Aeolic (I mean historical Aeolic): εὔαδε and κανάξαις, σμικρός, ζάθεος, πίσυρες, ἀργεννός, ἔμμεναι, ἄμμεναι, ὕπαιθα, Θεοσίτης, ἐριῆρες, πόρδαλις, ἄμυδις, Αὐγείας, ἄμός, ἀμύμων, ἄιον, ἀγάγωμι, καὶ δ' ἔπεσον, κεκλήγοντες, προφανείσας are Aeolic. The stock of words and forms is Ionic, and there are even some Attic coincidences (οῦν, μείζων, πῶς, πότε).⁴ Dismissing the last (as due either to the contact of the poems with the motherland, or, more probably, to the fact that the oldest form of Ionic and Attic agreed), we find that Homer is in an Aeolo-Ionic language.

When a poet is discovered writing in a language composed, in very unequal proportions, of two different dialects, what conclusion do we draw to his country and date?

¹ Thus explained by Plutarch, *de vit. et poes. Hom.* ii. 8 λέγει ποικίλη κεχρημένος τοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου τῶν Ἑλληνίδων χαρακτήρας ἐγκατέμεινεν, ἐξ ὧν δηλὸς ἐστὶ πᾶσαν γῆν Ἑλλάδα ἐπελθὼν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος. (This tract usually entitled Pseudoplutarch may well be genuine; there is up and down in the *Moralia* a quantity of grammar, etymology, variant readings, and even prosody). Cf. also Apoll. Dyse. *de synt.* i. 118 ὑπολαμβάνω τὸν ποιητὴν συνειδότα τὸ ἀμφίβολον τοῦ σχήματος τὴν μὲν πρωτότυπον σχεδὸν διὰ πάσης διαλέκτου προενέγκασθαι.

² Hoffmann, *Ionic* i, § 240.

³ See Hinrichs, *de Homericae elocutionis vestigiis aeolicis*, 1875. I do not enter into further details. Even syntax agrees with Aeolic; Giles, *Companion to Greek Studies*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 571.

⁴ See on Attic influence Wackernagel, *Glotta* vii. 166 sqq. It is inevitable also that the speech of the colonists should have taken up many Asiatic words. This subject remains for exploration. Cf. aia = country, Hittite and Vannic, Cowley, *Hittites*, p. 84.

I presume that he lived in a place where the two dialects in question formed, in the given proportions, a spoken language. (The poet, of course, is understood to be early in his art, perhaps its originator.) We know how the sub-dialect of Tuscan spoken in the Val d'Arno has become the literary language of Italy. It would, therefore, seem natural to look for a place, in Asia, where Aeolic and Ionic were spoken, in these proportions. And this has been done to some extent. The 'border-line', between Aeolis and Ionia, has mostly been thought to be the birthplace of the poems. But owing to the long-felt influence of August Fick the question has been obscured by an idea of stages in the linguistic state of the poems, of passages from a race to another race, of conquest, and of a resulting transliteration of the verses from one dialect to another. Fick it is well known in his original theory laid down that the poems originally belonged to the inhabitants of Aeolis, were composed in Aeolic, passed to the Ionians at the conquest of Smyrna by them in 688 (Paus. v. 8. 7), and were then turned into Ionic. This theory, which took its native land by storm, and still, though in a modified form, influences German opinion, had a colder reception in England. Two objections were raised to it: (1) The incomplete and arbitrary character of the transliteration. What could have stayed the pen or the voice of the Ionicizer when he came to *Μαχάων* and *ὀρᾶτο*? Zenodotus evidently thought the latter an oversight when he read *ὀρήτο*, and the grammarian of the Epimerismi detected *λαός* unturned.¹ No transliteration or adaptation, however unofficial, could have produced these results. (2) The second objection was that the theory contemplated the transposition of a poem composed in one dialect into another dialect, a process to which there is no parallel in Greek. Dr. Giles, in the article I shall refer to, produces parallels from Anglo-Saxon poetry and ballads. But analogy is analogy only when the general circumstances are similar:

¹ The process may be seen going on in the MSS.: Δ 92 *βιάνοπα* Ar. L 19 V 16, *βιήνοπα* vulg.

dialect in Greek was stiffer. If an Aeolic epic were turned into Ionic, why did the Ionic epic remain Ionic when it left Ionia? But the Doric writers, Archytas and Timaeus Locrus, when they quote Homer, quote him in Ionic and call him the *Ἰωνικὸς ποιητὰς*¹ (as the Cretans called the verses *ξενικὰ ποιήματα*, Plato, *Laws* 680 c²). The Orphic *corpus*, written in Doric, was never dedorized. The pilgrims to the Ionian Delos sang paeans each in his own tongue,³ and the *Δηλιάδες* learned all tongues to receive them. Pythagoras recommended his disciples to use their own dialects (*φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρῷᾳ ἐκάστοις παρήγγελον* Iamblichus, *vit. Pyth.* 241), though he thought Doric the oldest and best. Therefore, if there had been an Aeolic epos at the time when the Ionians took Smyrna, it would have been a novelty to turn it into Ionic; and, moreover, the date and period are put out of court if Arctinus, who sang in ol. 9, presupposes the whole of our *Iliad* (p. 73). In 688 the only spoils of Aeolis would have been Lesches' comparatively recent *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*, if that were originally in Aeolic, though after the row of Ionic poems (*Thebais*, *Epigoni*, *Cypria*, *Aethiopis*) that is hard to suppose. There is, indeed, some evidence, which I will collect. The single line of the *Μικρὰ Ἰλιάς*, fr. 12, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, runs *νύξ μὲν ἔην μεσάτα, λαμπρὰ δ' ἐπέτελλε σελάνα*; in the other authors who quote it, some earlier (as Callisthenes ap. schol. Eur. *Hec.* 910), some later (as schol. Lycophr. 344, &c.), we find *μέσση—σελήνη*. The other fragments, one of which is alluded to by Aristophanes, are in Ionic. This evidently comes to little. There is also the equally isolated statement in the prolegomena to the scholia minora in Ve (Osann, *An. Rom.* p. 5) *τὴν δὲ ποίησιν*

¹ Tim. Locr., 104 D καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπαινέω τὸν Ἰωνικὸν ποιητὰν ἐκ παλαιᾶς ποιεῖντα τὼς ἐναγείας.

² οὐ γὰρ σφόδρα χρώμεθα οἱ Κρήτες τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν.

³ As the *προσόδιον* of Eumelus (Paus. iv. 4. 2) in Doric. For the *Δηλιάδες* see *h. Hom. Apoll.* 162. The Pythia dorized to Dorians, Herod. iv. 157. The priestess at Ptoon spoke Carian to the Carian Mys, Herod. viii. 135.

ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἀξιοῖ Ζώπυρος ὁ Μάγνης Αἰολίδι διαλέκτῳ, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Δικαίαρχος. Magnesia ad Sipylum is not far from Smyrna, and the name, as that of the other Magnesia also (Strabo 647), suggests Thessaly, and that Zopyrus exaggerated for patriotic motives the Aeolic character of Homer's language. (Dicaearchus was born at Messene, an Ionic foundation.) Even if Lesches wrote in Lesbian the older Cyclic poems were out of reach of Aeolic, much more the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The theory fails on both grounds; and if, to avoid the late date, the transcription be ante-dated (as has been done), then there is no evidence for any Ionian advance upon Aeolis, with or without confiscation of literature.

It seems natural to look for a place where both dialects had always been spoken, and where no political or racial change or movement required postulating, where the poet sang the language he spoke. Some such idea has from time to time occurred, but the prepossessions left by Fick's theory have allowed the opportunity to be missed (even by Cauer, *Grundfrage*³, pp. 164 sqq.). The only scholar I know who has accepted and demonstrated this view is Dr. P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. I have been familiar with the view for some years, having, I believe, first heard of it in a review of Dr. Giles' article. He has since been good enough to send me the article, or rather the abstract of it which is to be found in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for March 9, 1915. It is much to be regretted that Dr. Giles has not published his article entire, when we might have appreciated the arguments which led him to his conclusion. I shall venture to set out the facts as I conceive them.

If we try to find a place among the known dialects of Greece into which we can fit Homer's language, it is of course not pure Aeolic. Of Herodotus' four divisions of Ionic (i. 142) the most northern is the language of Chios and Erythrae (κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ διαλέγονται).

The foundation-legends of Chios mention no overrunning

of one race by another, but an original double settlement. *Χῖοι δὲ οἰκιστὰς ἐαυτῶν Πελασγούς φασι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Θετταλίας* Strabo 621 (Strabo's account is naturally compiled from his predecessors, e.g. Menecrates ἐν τοῖς περὶ κτίσεων *F. H. G.* ii. 342, an early Alexandrian, and Pherecydes, whom he quotes 632). These Pelasgians were confounded by the antiquarians (such as Menecrates) with the Asiatic Pelasgi, who appear in Homer and are stated to have been the early population of Lesbos (Anticlidēs, fr. 21, *F. H. G.* v), whence, according to the fable in Diodorus v. 81, they settled Chios. But after Strabo's express statement that they were European, we must dismiss their Asiatic origin as part of the later Greek conception of history; they can have been nothing but the inhabitants of Homer's *Πελασγικὸν ἄργος*, in other words those (Strabo 621) who started ἐκ τοῦ Φρικίου τοῦ ὑπὲρ Θερμοπυλῶν Δοκρικοῦ ὄρους and founded Cyme. To this district the Pelasgic name applies only in Homer (with the exception of Dodona); close by on the north coast of the Malian gulf was Larissa *Πελασγία* (p. 121). Part, therefore, of the settlers of Chios came from the old Aeolid region. The other element was mixed: *Χῖον δὲ [κτίζει] Ἑγέριος, σύμμικτον ἐπαγόμενος πλῆθος* Pherecydes ap. Strab. 633. The account in Paus. vii. 5. 8 comes from the fifth-century Ion, himself of Chios: first came Cretans under *Οἰνοπίων*, then Carians, Abantes from Euboea, next Amphiclus from Histiaea in Euboea; his fourth successor, Hector, won a tripod at the Panionia. Pausanias does not understand how the Chians succeeded in counting as Ionians. The race and language were mixed from the beginning, as were those of Priene and Teos (Strabo 633).

The historical inscriptions are few, of the fifth and fourth centuries, and are Ionic with the exception of the forms *πρηξοισιν* and *λαβωισιν* (aor. subj. 3 pers. pl.) and some declined numerals, *τεσσερακοντων, πεντηκοντων, εννηκοντων*. These forms all occur in one inscription (Hoffmann, no. 80, s. v). *Πρηξοισιν* and *λαβωισιν* are Aeolic (Meister i. 81;

Hoffmann iii, p. 445; Bechtel, *G. D. I.* iv. 2, p. vii; Smyth, *Ionic*, §§ 13. 9, 228 (6), 241; Thumb, *Handbuch*, p. 358). Compare γραφωσι γινωσκωσι ανατεθειωσι Meister, *G. D. I.* p. 81, Hoffmann ii, p. 417. In literature numerals are declined in Hesiod and Alcaeus, a Boeotian and a Lesbian writer, not in Homer. There is no case of λαβωσι in Homer, but there are some similar forms which may be survivals;

Υ 138 ἄρχωσι A.

Ν 589 θρώσκωσιν V 10.

Further, the Homeric MSS. offer epenthetic ι in the first person;

Η 243 τύχωιμι B Bm 8 E 3 P 7 P 8 P 17 corr. U 3 V 20 V 25 γρ. Eu. B and E 3 are carefully written eleventh-century MSS., P 7 P 17 are among their descendants.

τ 490 κτείνωμι U 2 γρ. Eu.

These cases resemble δοκίμοιμ' Sappho 37 (emended from δοκείμοι Herodian, π. μον. λέξ. 7. 28): δοκίμοιμι 69 (quoted in a Louvre papyrus, *Notices et Extraits* xviii. 1865 from Chrysippus ii, fr. 180 Arnim);¹ and if Aeolic may be Chian. It might be thought that τύχωιμι had a graphical origin, e.g. the result of τύχοῖμι; but in this case we should expect τύχω̃ιμι, as τύχωμι is the old form: and this does not give -ωιμι.

Further, when we are told that the Chian edition (as well as that of Antimachus of Colophon, a neighbour) read κεκόπων Ν 60 for κεκοπώς, we may fairly ascribe this Aeolism not only to the edition but to the dialect of the island. It still survives in our MSS. With it presumably go the other Aeolic perfect participles (e.g. πεπλήγων). The bearing of another peculiarity of the Chian edition, μῆς for μείς, Τ 117, is not clear: in inscriptions μῆς appears only in the Dorian Heracleian tables (*I. G. Sic. Ital.* 645). Lastly, Φ 126 the Chia preferred the elision φρῖχ(ι) to that of the vulgate φρῖχ(α).

¹ Thumb, *l. c.* 263, 264; Bechtel, *Die gr. Dialekte*, 1921, i. 84, 85.

These are the traces that we appear to find in our actual MSS.¹ of the Aeolic part of the Chian dialect. It is only natural to imagine that, as the inscriptions prove, in an island originally settled by two races the language of the stronger all but overlaid that of the other; and that, therefore, four hundred years before the first inscriptions the two dialects were more on an equality. This is a commonplace in dialectology. Therefore the percentage of Aeolisms which we find in Homer is a natural one in a mixed settlement of, say, 1000 B.C., and does not require an external cause to account for it. 'Though a colony of the Abantes of Euboeia Chios must have contained both Aiolians and Ionians, and have become definitely Ionic under the pressure exercised by Miletos and the Panionion. It is incorrect to imagine that Chios was first Aiolic, then Ionic.' (Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 21.)

We have, therefore, found a place colonized by Aeolians and Ionians, of which in the fifth century the language still in one or two particulars resembled Lesbian. In the ninth century the Aeolian element was stronger. The Homeric language consists of a majority of Ionic, a minority of Aeolic forms. Moreover, in this island Homer was said to be born, and a gild who bore the name of his sons can be traced back to the sixth century. These coincidences are enough to allow us to say that Homer, like all early and unsophisticated poets, sang the language he spoke, and that that language was Chian. This is probable in itself; it has also the advantage of explaining the linguistic condition of the poems. Transcription of any kind implies system. As I have said, what stayed the Ionic tide short of *λαός* and *Μαχάων*? In a real language these anomalies are natural and to be expected. Usage is a growth, there is no plan or reason in it. The two races in Chios mixed their accents; the current set in favour of

¹ Another case of dialect-forms surviving in the MSS. is *μέντον* for *μέντοι* Θ 448 (Heraclides ap. Eust., ἀργολικῶς καὶ κρητικῶς § P 3) L 6 V 4. Cf. I. Pelop. Insul. 426. Contrariwise ξ 407 *ἐνδοι* for *ἐνδον* U 2.

Ionic, but at a given moment the proportions were casual ; and at the moment when Homer spoke and sang they were what we find.

Now if we may regard this as proved, that Homer lived in Chios and sang his poem in the language he talked, we are able to remove many hypotheses and beliefs which cumber the ground. For Fick and his followers were not content with a linguistic discovery. They drew political conclusions from it. They held that the *Tale of Troy* was originally sung in Aeolic, and they gave generally a precedence to everything Aeolic ; the Trojan War itself, incredible to say, never took place, and was a reflection, a Rückspiegelung, of the experiences of the Aeolians when they conquered the Troad, though, in point of fact, the original Aeolic settlements were at Cyme, Smyrna, and Lesbos, and Troy was no object for migration. Lesbos and Cyme were the metropoleis of most Aeolic towns (Strabo 616, 622). They themselves asserted two different settlements—Lesbos, the land-expedition of Gras, son of Archelaus, son of Penthilus, son of Orestes, who crossed the Hellespont at the Granicus and took Lesbos ; Cyme, the sea-expedition of Cleues and Malaos, also descendants of Agamemnon, who started from the *Φρίκιον ὄρος*. The Troad was colonized only subsequently, and was never of any consequence.¹ More than this, it was held that even the geographical conditions of the *Iliad* were non-original and had been accommodated to Ionian ideas. The real centre of heroic Greece was in Thessaly ; from Thessaly proceeded the tribes who warred against Troy.

These figments were all the product of brains affected by the political tinge which Fick gave to his linguistic theory. The 'priority' of Aeolic to Ionic entailed these consequences. The more correct analysis of the language and the

¹ Strabo 565 καὶ γὰρ Φρύγες ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ Μυσοὶ μετὰ τὴν Τροίαν ἄλωσιν, εἴθ' ὕστερον Λυδοὶ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἴωνες. The version in Pausanias (iii. 2. 1) makes Lesbos first settled by Penthilus, afterwards Aeolis conquered by his grandson Gras.

demonstration that the whole of it was the natural tongue of Chios sweeps the board clear of these extraordinary obsessions. There were no 'Aeolic lays', least of all Aeolic lays narrating operations against Troy. Achilles (who was an Aeacid, not an Aeolid) sang κλέα ἀνδρῶν in his tent; he sang about his father, his uncles, and his grandfather;¹ possibly he included some others of the Mycenaean nobility, having, like Peleus his father (*H* 128 πάντων Ἀργείων ἑρέων γενεῇν τε τόκον τε), heroic family connexions at his fingers' ends. The inhabitants of the later Thessaly were, as we know from the excavations of MM. Wace, Droop, and Thompson, a semi-savage people of the Stone Age, whose culture, such as it was, came to them from Mycenae when such families as the Aeacidae settled among them. They achieved nothing and they had no 'lays'. Asclepius collected simples on the hills of Trikkala, and there was a long wicked dynasty, the Lapiths, on the Peneus, who cleared the Centaurs out of Pelion. Another wicked prince, Eurytus, near Tricca, offended Apollo. They received Thracian music, and were pretty much Thracians themselves. While they were on the borders of civilization the power of Greece was at the Isthmus, in the hands of Eurystheus and Atreus. An Aeolid family, the Salmonidae (but they were relatively a southern race, and preceded Agamemnon at Corinth), did make a voyage on a ship, the Argo, eastwards. Where they went we do not know. They stayed long enough at Lemnos for Jason to beget a son and for the later population to call themselves descendants of the Argonauts (*Herod.* iv. 145). Perhaps they attempted the Dardanelles. No tradition remains of 'lays' in which this, the sole Aeolian feat, was celebrated.² The two feats of the Mycenaeans, the Theban and Trojan wars, were sung by bards of Chios, Teos, Cyprus, Miletus, with one, Lesches, from

¹ Philostratus did not think so (*Heroic.* 319): he gave Achilles as subjects Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Adonis, Hyllus, Abderus, personages of the Heracles-generation.

² Nothing exists before Pindar. It is assumed that Argo found a place in Hesiod.

Lesbos. Of other Aeolian poets we know nothing, and they had nothing to sing.

If Homer was a Chian and sang in his native Aeolo-Ionic language, what conclusion can we draw to his date? Nothing at all precise, but all tending to antiquity. Aeolic still held a considerable proportion of the language. The Ionicization, which was nearly complete in the fifth century, had begun but had not made much way: the usage was still irregular, they said *νηός* but *λαός*. The Ionian itself was early: the augment was still there, vowels were contracted, the digamma may have been written and was almost certainly sounded. It is centuries removed from Hipponax and Herodotus. On the point of the digamma it is materially older than the Hymn to Apollo, which is of the eighth century (p. 65). There is no *κ* for *π* (*κοτε*). A period when an early form of Ionic had not got the better of Aeolic must be early: not much later than the settlement? That is to say, the date given by the Parian chronicle, 906? or earlier?

So we find that, as the ancients said, Homer was born in Chios and wrote in old Ionic. Singular, the course of philological progress, or rather philological movement, *μετάβασις*. The real sciences advance in lines, with checks and halts, but in lines. Philology, the study of the past, seems to move by escapes and loops, in a kind of circle, and ever and anon returns to the point it started from. Herein it resembles religion.¹

¹ If the Aeolic element in Chios consisted of *Πελασγοὶ ἐκ τῆς Θερταλίας*, and *Ὅμηρος* is an Aeolic name, Homer's parents must have been *Πελασγοί* from Europe. And as he himself has no Pelasgic name in Greece save the Pelasgic argos from which Achilles' men came, were his parents from the Spercheus? is this the reason why he selected out of all the *Tale of Troy* the Wrath of Achilles for his poem, and became his herald (Plutarch, *Alex.* 15)?

CHAPTER VI

APTEIOI, AXAIOI, AANAIOI

AFTER language the next kind of evidence for the date of Homer is naturally the archaeological. I do not propose to enter into this directly. Appraisal of archaeological evidence is a matter for archaeologists. Homer indeed gives a picture of the political, ethnographical, and geographical circumstances of the heroic age, which I have tried to show in my book on the *Catalogue* agrees in all respects with historical fact. This does not carry with it the agreement of his picture of civilization and culture with the civilization and culture of the heroic age. There appears *prima facie* a discrepancy between the two accounts, the Homeric and the archaeological, particularly in the matter of the metals and of burial. I suggested (*C. R.* 1911, 233) that the discrepancy might be got over if we considered Homer to have unconsciously put a description of the culture of his own period (not much later than the heroic) into the heroic age. This suggestion has not met with favour, and actual archaeological opinion appears to hold that the evidence of excavations establishes a period of culture, during and after the Trojan war, which corresponds exactly with Homer's picture. I therefore leave this question with the pious aspiration that more, and more decisive, archaeological evidence may be forthcoming, and the remark that, if Homer's cultural description really corresponds to the facts of the heroic age, the description must have been made very soon after the end of that age: for the novelties of the new period, the Dorian invasion in the motherland and the contact with Carians, Lydians, and who knows what Asiatic races in Ionia and Aeolis, must have modified the old culture at once in Greece, and with, one would suppose, considerable rapidity in Asia. The difference

between Homer and the Cycle even in an epitome on various points of culture is well known.

There is one subject in the archaeological field which cannot be passed over, the meaning and usage of the three national names Ἀχαιοί, Δαναοί, and Ἀργεῖοι in Homer. I remarked, *Catalogue*, p. 22, that no argument can be based on this usage, but it is none the less a duty to discover the usage if it be possible. I treated the subject in 1909 in an article in the *C. Q.* 81 sqq. Most of that article I withdraw. It was written under the assumption that the Achaeans came into Greece from the north. The statistics of Della Seta (*Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti* xvi. 133 sqq.) show little beyond the fact that Ἀχαιοί is the most, Δαναοί the least frequent form.¹

Two of the three names are guaranteed by independent documentary evidence. The Ἀχαιοί and Δαναοί appear in Egyptian documents of *circa* 1250 B. C. and 1200–1150 B. C. as *Akaiwasha* and *Daanau* or *Danauna* respectively (see e. g. Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, 1901, p. 173, &c.). The inscriptions support the names, but do not tell us where the two tribes came from. Most of their companions (*Sardina, Sakalasa, Palusatha, Uashasha, Tchakarai*) seem Asiatics or Cretans.

In Homer the Danai are solely a race-name for the whole of the Greeks. The Ἀχαιοί equally are a name applied to the whole of the Greeks without distinction, but they are also found in a local sense: (1) as one among the three nations in the Pelasgic ages subject to Peleus: *B* 684 *Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί*. The Myrmidons, according to legend (but it may be due to a mere resemblance of name, *Μυρμιδόνες Μύρμηκες*), came with Peleus from Aegina: the Hellenes are local, and the Achaei have an equal right to be considered to be so. (2) In the account of the Locrian Ajax *B* 530 *ἐγχείη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς*: the line with 529 was

¹ Mr. Tucker's very original etymologies of these and other Homeric words (*C. Q.*, 1922, 100 sqq.) are beyond my competence to criticize.

athetized by Aristarchus. The interpolator (it may be Hesiodic) must have meant both names locally, especially as the district adjoins the Pelasgic argos. (3) In Crete τ 175. The local use in Locris and Phthia (from which the word remained in the historical Achaea Phthiotis) cannot be accounted for. The appropriation of Ἀχαΐα to the south coast of the Corinthian Gulf was an effect of the Dorian invasion. Here there is nothing to suggest Northerners, at least people more northerly than the Maliac gulf. Plunderers of the Delta would not naturally be Northerners.

The Ἀργεῖοι do not occur on monuments. The application of this name to the whole of the then Greece is therefore enigmatical. We must first look at the views of the ancients. The ancients held that Argos by itself meant the Peloponnesus; when it was accompanied by an adjective Ἄργος Πελασγικόν meant Thessaly, Ἄργος Ἀχαικόν and Ἰασσόν Peloponnesus. The extant authors who contain these statements are Apollodorus, *Bibl.* ii. 3 (and ἐν πρώτῳ νεῶν καταλόγῳ, ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἄργουρα), and Strabo in various chapters, 221, 363, 369–71, 431. The views were much older than either author; in Strabo 221 the argument for making the Pelasgic argos = Thessaly is taken from Ephorus, who is named in the immediate neighbourhood; Apollodorus' source seems to be Acusilaus. The doctrine may well go back as far as Hesiod, who in most respects adjusted Dorian to prae-Dorian Greece (on Ἑλλάς see p. 120; he admitted Megara, fr. 96. 8). The reasoning is obvious: the best-known Argos in post-Dorian Greece was the city in the Argolid, and the district itself: the other arges were outside Greece and far north or west. Hence when Argei was applied to all the Greeks it meant Peloponnesians. But as Achilles in Homer came from the Pelasgic argos, and the term Pelasgic was fixed by at least the end of the sixth century to Thessaly,¹ Argos qualified by Pelasgic meant Thessaly: and as there was an Achaia in the Peloponnesus

¹ Acusilaus, fr. 14, Hecataeus, fr. 334, Pherecydes, fr. 26, Hellanicus, fr. 26: cf. Myres, *J. H. S.*, 1907, 170 sqq.

ponnese in the post-Dorian period, Argos Achaicum again meant the Peloponnese, and so did Argos Iason as there was nowhere else to put it. So far as the equation Argos = Peloponnese went, the logographers had arrived by a preposterous method at a conclusion not far from the truth. This is a characteristic of ancient philology.

We must assay a better explanation. We have to account for the same word applying in Homer to the Argolid and its inhabitants, and to the whole of Greece (from Malea to Oloosson) and its inhabitants. I see no way of doing this but by establishing the intrinsic meaning of the word ἄργος. This is given us by Strabo 372: after an enumeration of the various senses of Argos, he says ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδῖον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἅπαξ· μάλιστα δ' οἴονται Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Θετταλικὸν εἶναι. The last remark appears to be based on the Ὀρεστικὸν ἄργος in Macedonia, and the Δώτιον ἄργος (see *infra*) in Thessaly. The same information comes from Stephanus of Byzantium in Ἄργος. After enumerating eleven cases of the town, he says ἄργος δὲ σχεδὸν πᾶν πεδῖον κατὰ θάλασσαν. Under Δώτιον he quotes from Dionysius¹ ἐν α' Γιγαντιάδος the verse καὶ κελάδων Σπερχειός· ἔχουσι δὲ Δώτια τέμπεα, and ἐν τῷ β' the verse καὶ κενεὸν βρόντησε λέβης ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἄργος. Hesiod, fr. 122. 2, and the Homeric hymn xvi. 3 have Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ, so that we have a literary equation between ἄργος πεδῖον and τέμπεα. The meaning therefore is established. I make no conjecture upon the etymology² (Mr. Tucker, *C. R.*, 1922, 100 connects ἄργος with the Latin *regio*. This agrees with the ancient interpretation), but will remark that the discovery of the word in forms such as Ἄργιλος, Ἄργουρα is hampered by the claims of ἄργ-, 'white'.

¹ His date is unknown. Stephanus quotes him also under Κελαδάνη, Νέσσω, Ὀρέσται, Τιτωνεύς. In his second book (quoted under Ὀρέσται) he must have employed ἄργος with Ὀρεστικόν as a common noun.

² No one will revive Hoffmann's connexion of Ἀχαιοί and Αἰολεῖς. Names apart the two races were as distant as races can be. The Pelopidae, who must have been Achaeans, dispossessed the Aeolians of Corinth.

In earlier literature Callimachus availed himself of the word: *Hecale* ap. s Ap. Rhod. i. 1118 (fr. 45 Schneider)

Νηπίης ἦτ' ἄργος ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια.

Apollonius calls it *πεδῖον Νηπήιον*. Here we apparently have a masculine (cf. *σκότος*, *τάριχος* m. and n.); the *ἀργὸν πεδῖον* at Mantinea (Paus. viii. 7. 1) perhaps gives us a by-form¹ and a case of rare word and gloss together. Ross, *Reisen in den griech. Inseln* ii. 92, iii. 32, found the word in use in Casos, Calymnos, and Nisyra in the sense of 'valley'; a deme in Iindos was called *αργεῖος*, *I. G.* ix. 1 index; Ramsay, *J. H. S.* 1920, 202, sees the word in the tribe *Ἀργαδεῖς*, and finds it in Asia. In that case we may connect *Κυνοσαργής*.

Now it is a commonplace that common nouns meaning a kind of place tend, owing to whatever circumstances, to become proper, that is, to be appropriated to particular cases of the kind of place in question. An Englishman who is acquainted with one or two Avons in England finds, if he travels in Wales, that all rivers are Avons, and it dawns upon him that in Welsh *avon* = river. In Greek *ἄναυρος*,² *ἀρέθουσα*, *λάρισσα*, *τέμπος*, -*εα*³ are clear examples of this tendency; and we may suspect the same of other common place-names (e.g. *Ἐφύρα*, *Πύλος*—which is to *πύλη* as *portus* to *porta*). So there is no difficulty in believing that *ἄργος*, which originally meant plain or valley, came to mean the Argolid (= valley) and its capital, and various other cities (in valleys) or valleys in and about Greece.

How does this bear upon the usages in Homer? Why was all Greece called *Ἄργος* and all Greeks *Ἀργεῖοι*? My

¹ As *δένδρον* *δένδρος*, *ἄφενον* *ἄφενος*, *Πύλον* (Mimnermus, fr. 9) *Πύλος*.

² Cf. *ἐπαύρους* 'τοὺς χεῖμαρρους ποταμούς', Hesych., Persson, *I. G. F.* xxxv. 199 sqq.

³ *Τέμπος*, -*η* is normal in Byzantine literary Greek for 'valley' (e.g. Anna, vol. ii. 8. 7 *τὰ τέμπη ἅπερ κλεισοῦρας ἢ ἰδιώτης οἶδε γλῶττα καλεῖν*), and in the Latin poets. Further *εὐριπος*, *εὐρωπός* may have meant 'torrent' (the *εὐριπος* at Lesbos, Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 22; *I. G.* ix. 2, No. 529. 3). From some occurrence of the word 'Europe' came.

theory is this. It is now an article of faith with English archaeologists that the Mycenaean culture came from Crete, and was the result of immigration from Crete. As far as I can judge this seems very probable. Now we do not know what the Minoans called themselves—if we did, we should know everything—but among the races of Crete, τ 175, one is Ἀχαιοί, and it is in Crete that we should expect to find people who raided the Delta. I assume then that the Cretans who conquered the Greek mainland were Ἀχαιοί. There would be two Ἀχαιοί, the original (or relatively original, they may have made Crete a stepping-stone between Asia and Greece¹), and the mainland Ἀχαιοί. The latter called themselves ἀργεῖοι, 'continentals', from their new country the ἄργος, or mainland.

My parallel to a word first meaning plain and then meaning a particular country is ἡπειρος. Given to Thesprotia and Acarnania by the Ionian islanders, it was an eparchy in the Byzantine empire (Hierocles, *Synecd.*, p. 393), and is still the name of the country opposite Corfu and of no other. Compare also s Procop. *bell. Vand.* 21. 12 ἡπειρος ὁ νῦν Αὐλών (Valona). So in the sense of continent ἄργος would apply to the whole Greek mainland, not to the Peloponnesus only; it is short for τὸ Ἀχαικὸν ἄργος as Ἀργεῖοι is short for οἱ ἀργεῖοι Ἀχαιοί.²

I have next to examine the various combinations of these words in Homer, and to see how this hypothesis suits them.

(1) The Δαναοί, if Perseus was son of Danae, may be the proper name of the Perseidae; they were in Greek legend foreigners, and the inscription of Rameses III speaks of the 'Danauna in their isles', which should mean the Aegean, not continental Greece. When they arrived there, they, like the Achaeans, described themselves in terms of their new land; ἀργεῖων Δαναῶν survives θ 578 (cf. the

¹ A town in Rhodes was called Ἀχαία, Ergeias Rhodius *F. H. G.* iv. 405 (Athen. 860 E sq. and § Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 34 a Drachmann).

² Compare Πελασγοὶ αἰγυαλῆες and Πελασγοὶ κραναοί Herod. vii. 94, viii. 44.

variants Δ 471, Θ 202). Their name remained, but sparingly, as a designation for the whole people, under the Pelopidae.¹

(2) Ἀργεῖοι and Ἀχαιοί are the same:

Γ 82 ἴσχεσθ' Ἀργεῖοι μὴ βάλλετε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν.

Ἄργος and Ἀχαιῖς are the same:

Γ 74 τοὶ δὲ νέεσθων

Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιῖδα καλλιγύναικα.²

Δ 171 καὶ κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολυδίψιον Ἄργος ἰκοίμην·
αὐτίκα γὰρ μνήσονται Ἀχαιοὶ πατρίδος αἵης.

The thirsty continent is the Achæan land.

λ 166 (= 481)

οὐ γάρ πω σχεδὸν ἦλθον Ἀχαιῖδος οὐδέ πω ἀμῆς
γῆς ἐπέβην.

Ulysses contrasts Greece in general (Ἀχαιῖς) with Ithaca.

(3) Hence Argos or Argos Ἀχαϊκόν means the whole of Greece:

Ι 141 εἰ δέ κεν Ἄργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαϊκόν, οὔθ' αὖ ἀρούρης,
γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔοι.

When we get back to Greece, says Agamemnon, he may have one of my daughters and seven Messenian villages. Agamemnon's kingdom was not Argolis.

γ 249 ποῦ Μενέλαος ἔην;

ἦ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαϊκοῦ ἀλλὰ πῃ ἄλλη
πλάζετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους;

Agamemnon was not murdered in the Argolid, and Menelaus had nothing to do with it. The question, as the latter part shows, means 'had Menelaus not returned to Greece?'

Ζ 152 ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῶ Ἀργεος ἱπποβότοιο,
ἐνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν.

The Aeolid Sisyphus was King of Ephyra-Corinth, in the

¹ Suggestions on the Danaus-legend are made by MM. Myres and Frost, *Klio* xiv. 4, pp. 466, 467.

² Which is a longer way of saying Ἄργος Ἀχαϊκόν Ι 141.

'nook of the continent', that is, at the end of the Corinthian gulf, between the mountains, the isthmus, and the sea.

The same expression will have the same meaning :

γ 263 Aegisthus wooed Clytemnestra *μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότῳ*.

N 378 *δοῖμεν δ' Ἀτρεΐδῳ θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην Ἄργεος ἐξαγαγόντες ὀπιούμεν.*

Agamemnon and Idomeneus mean the same ἄργος as in I 141, Greece in general.

B 115, I 22 *δυσκλέα Ἄργος ἰκέσθαι.*

A 30 *ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ τηλόθι πάτρης.*

δ 174 *καὶ κέ οἱ Ἀργεῖ νάσσα πόλιν καὶ δώματ' ἔτευξα ἐξ Ἰθάκης ἀγαγὼν σὺν κτήμασι καὶ τέκεϊ ᾤ.*

I would have brought him from his island and built him a town on the mainland near me, says Menelaus.

When Hector, foreseeing his wife's fate, says (Z 456)

καὶ κεν ἐν Ἀργεῖ εἴοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἱστὸν ὑφαίνοις, καὶ κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηίδος ἢ Ὑπερείης

no one will make him see her in Argolis (though perhaps Valerius Flaccus so understood it, iv. 374; see *Catalogue*, p. 128). Neoptolemus, to whose lot Andromache fell according to the Cycle and later authors, had nothing to do with Argolis or the Peloponnesus at all.

O 30 Hera brought Heracles back from Cos, Ἄργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον, again to Greece; if anywhere in particular, to Thebes.

B 161 al. Ἀργεῖν Ἑλένη means 'the Greek woman', the foreigner, conceivably to distinguish her from Trojan women of the name, if Ἑλένος was one of Priam's sons.

Lastly, the case is quite clear in the famous line which describes Agamemnon's suzerainty :

πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν (B 108);

'continent' and 'many islands'—Dulichium, the Cephallenes, Cythera, Crete, Casas, Carpathos, Rhodes, Cos, the Calydnæ, Syme, Nisyrus.

(4) The word by the time that Homer wrote had also acquired the meaning of Argolis and its capital. No living language but has these contradictions.¹ This local meaning occurs *B* 559, in the Argolid section of the *Catalogue*, γ 180 of Diomedes's return, Ξ 119 in Diomedes's account of his father's migration (Ἄργεϊ νάσθη. Aetolia, which Tydeus left, belonged to ἄργος = Greece). The Argos that Hera loved (Δ 52) is presumably that where her temple was situate, which gave her her title Ἀργείη (Δ 8, *E* 908. Gods' titles are local, as Ἀλαλκομενῆϊς Ἀθήνη, Δ 8). At φ 107, where Pylos, Argos, and Mycenae, Ithaca, and the black epeiros are included in the Ἀχαιῶν γαῖα, Argos is clearly Argolis: the kingdoms of Nestor, Sthenelus, Agamemnon, Ithaca (= Cephallenia), and the opposite coast (the Dulichian and Cephallenian peraea) represent Greece.²

We may at this point conclude that ἄργος, as Strabo said, is never used in Homer in the sense of πεδῖον, but that nevertheless its uses, viz. as Greece in general, and as Argolis in particular, are deducible from this original meaning.

Two Homeric phrases remain for examination, Ἰασον and Πελασγικὸν ἄργος.

(5) Ἰασον ἄργος occurs once only. We know where it was, but we do not know what the name meant.

σ 245 Eurymachus to Penelope:

κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρον Πηνελόπεια,
εἰ πάντες σε ἴδοιεν ἂν Ἰασον Ἄργος Ἀχαιοί,
πλέονές κε μνηστῆρες ἐν ὑμετέροισι δόμοισι
ῥῶθεν δαινύατ', ἐπεὶ περίεσσι γυναικῶν.

Strabo 369 interprets the word to mean Peloponnesus (like the other arge, according to him), observing with justice οὐ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰκός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐγγύς.

¹ Consider canton Valais: compare canton Schwyz with La Suisse.

² Z 224 where Diomedes says to Glaucus τῷ νῦν σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ ξείνος φίλος Ἄργεϊ μέσσω, perhaps he means by the phrase Argolis, which is 'half-way down Greece', more likely he means 'in the depths of Greece', that is anywhere.

Hellanicus long before has a story which defines it even further: (fr. 37 ap. § Γ 75) Ἰάσος καὶ Πελασγὸς Τρίοπα παῖδες· τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς διείλοντο τὴν βασιλείαν. λαχὼν δὲ Πελασγὸς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἐρασῖνον ποταμὸν ἔκτισε Λάρισαν, Ἰάσος δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἥλιν (Ἰλιον MS.). The realm of Iasus was the Elis-side of the Peloponnese, and this is demanded by the passage in the *Odyssey*. Eury-machus says 'if the people over on the main land saw you!' that is, the neighbours on the peraea, which as is abundantly evident (cf. *Catalogue*, p. 21) was Elis. This and perhaps Triphylia too was the Ἰάσον ἄργος.

What the name means is unknown. The ancients and the moderns too try to connect it with Ἰάονες, but the ἄ and the σ make this impossible. Ἰάσος or Ἰάσσος is known in Caria,¹ and the words may be the same,² cf. Τηλεβόαι and Telebehi (*Catalogue*, p. 88 n.). The Pelopidae also are first found in Greece in Elis; and the Greeks regarded Pelops as an Asiatic. The coast contains strange names, σαμικόν, ἀρήνη, φειά, χάα, ἰάρδανος,³ some of which are thought to be Eastern. The ἰόνιον πέλαγος too is still a mystery.

One phrase might seem to contradict my interpretation of ἄργος = continent. This is

ἀν' (or καθ') Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος.

This occurs in *Odyssey* α 344, δ 726, 816, ο 80; and since Hellas in its earlier sense is definitely northern, would seem to limit ἄργος to the Peloponnese (and no doubt these passages were the source of the ancient doctrine to that effect). However the Alexandrines come to our aid, who condemned all the lines: on I 39 the scholiast observes

¹ And started Hellanicus' tale.

² On the other hand the syllables are familiar in Greek: Ἰάσος an Athenian O 332, 337, Ἰασίδης an Orchomenian λ 283, a Cyprian ρ 443, Ἰασίων, Demeter's lover, ε 125: a place (πόλισμα) Ἰάσον in Laconia, Paus. vii. 13. 7. The story of Ἰασεύς and Phocus, Paus. x. 30. 4, suggests that Ἰάσον may refer to the north shore of the Corinthian gulf, Phocis-Aetolia.

³ Sundwall, *Klio* xiii. 76, 88. Compare ἀρήνη and Hittite r—n—n, Arinna, Ar(e)n(e)na, Vannic arni, Cowley, *Hittites*, p. 76.

νόθα οὖν ἐκεῖνα . . . καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, on δ 726 he says περιττὸς ὁ στίχος, and the whole passage ο 78-85 was athetized, and on other good grounds of language (one MS. preserves the obeli). All the lines are dispensable. They are no doubt post-Dorian, and the phrase is possibly Hesiodic since in the *Works and Days* 653 we find that the Achaei at Aulis collected their host Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα.¹ The Hesiodic language and ideas were the first and most important source of interpolation in Homer. See p. 203 sqq.

I submit therefore that ἄργος, a common noun meaning 'plain', which travellers have found in Asia and the Dodecanese, was applied by the Minoans when they invaded Greece both to their new country—'plain' in contrast with 'island', their old home, whether they called it ἄργος tout court or ἄργος Ἀχαιϊκόν—and to themselves. They called themselves ἀργεῖοι, probably Ἀχαιοὶ ἀργεῖοι also, though this phrase has not survived; Δαναοὶ ἀργεῖοι is embedded in a line of the *Odyssey*. After the Dorian invasion the old names were limited in their meaning: Ἀχαΐα was given the new signification of the north coast of the Peloponnese, Argos fell back upon one of its old meanings, the Argolid. A lower date for the latter change is given by the story of the elder Clisthenes, who equated Homer's Argives with the inhabitants of the Argolid. It had, however, taken place long before, and is doubtless in the undiscovered portion of Hesiod.

(6) I have no pretension to solving the Pelasgian question, and failing new evidence it is insoluble, like any question of usage in place-names where there are no records. Without records what would the most ingenious mind have made of 'French' and 'English'?

I start from Professor Myres' article, *J. H. S.* 1907, 170, with whose guiding principle—that of considering the

¹ It is useless to ask if there was an intermediate stage in the meaning of Hellas, when before it meant all Greece it meant Greece north of the Isthmus (Ptolemy i. 14. 1), and if Hesiod and these passages belong to that period.

evidence in chronological strata—I agree; I agree also in his results for the later centuries. I think more may be made of the evidence for the heroic and post-heroic period, in Greece proper. In Homer (in Greece) there are two cases of the adjective *Πελασγικός*: (a) B 681 the *Πελασγικὸν ἄργος* is the district of Achilles; its towns are Alos, Alope, and Trachis; districts in it or hard by are Phthia and Hellas; the inhabitants Myrmidons, Hellenes, Achaei. It is therefore curious that *Πελασγικὸν ἄργος* is the name of the country. Mr. Myres interprets it as a qualificative attribute, = ‘ancient, old-fashioned’. This I think is forbidden by the other adjectives in -*ικός* found with *ἄργος*, e.g. *Ἄργος Ἀμφιλοχικόν*, *Ἀχαιϊκόν*, *Ὀρεστικόν*.¹ There is no question here that race or locality is conveyed. Moreover, though there are no *Πελασγοί* within Achilles’ kingdom, we have *Δάρισα Πελασγία* on the north side of the Maliac gulf (Strabo 435 τῆς δ’ ἐξῆς παραλίας ἐν μεσογείῳ ἐστὶν ἡ κρεμαστὴ Δάρισα . . . ἡ δ’ αὐτὴ καὶ Πελασγία λεγομένη Δάρισα).²

(b) Π 233 Achilles, prince of these parts, invokes Zeus in these words:

*Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναίε Πελασγικὴ τηλόθι ναίων
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
σοὶ ναίουσ’ ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.*

In this invocation *Δωδωναίε*³ and *Δωδώνης* . . . *χαμαιεῦναι* go together, and *Πελασγικὴ* which comes in the middle of the phrase must be equally local. The epithets of the *Σελλοί* are added to increase the strength of the invocation,

¹ On this *argos* see B. S. A. xviii. 178 ‘basin of the lake of Kastoria’. The people are *Ὀρεστοί*.

² In the MS. Par. 1397 (A) of Strabo for *πελασγία* γαγία is visible in the text, and πλ may be read on the offprint of the supplement (now removed) in a mirror. Therefore *πλαγία* may perhaps be an equivalent of *κρεμαστή, προπα*. On the other hand Stephanus in *Δάρισαι* has *Πελασγία* (and *Πελασγῶν* ‘V’). This *larisa* is distinguished as *ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ* Paus. ii. 24. 1 (this may point to *πελαγία*).

³ *Φηγωναίε* in the same sense Zenodotus, presumably to avoid the tautology of *Δωδωναίε* and *Δωδώνης*.

not because they are old-fashioned or uncouth. Here then, too, I must hold that *Πελασγικέ* means 'belonging to the Pelasgi', though the poem names no Pelasgi as being at Dodona now, since Guneus' men are Enienes and Perrhaebi. Here we adduce Hesiod, who fr. 212 says

Δωδώνην φηγόν τε Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον ἦεν.

Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον, if I am right, corresponds exactly to *Πελασγικέ*, 'foundation of the Pelasgi'.

In Homer therefore (and still more in Hesiod) the Pelasgi had once been at Dodona, and once on the Spercheus; by the time of Homer other peoples had supplanted (or absorbed) them. Where were they at the time of the *Iliad*? Herodotus i. 57 says at one time *ὄμουροι ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι* *οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλομένην*. If we accept this statement, which does not bear visible marks of fabrication, they had crossed the Zygoi,¹ propelled presumably by the Enienes and Perrhaebi. At the Dorian invasion we know the Enienes and Perrhaebi also crossed the pass, the Perrhaebi to the Lapith country, the Enienes further south; before them presumably moved the Pelasgi, out of the later Thessaliotis; this was occupied by the Thessali, and if the Pelasgi were dislodged, where did they go but further east, to the historical Pelasgiotis, the plain of Larissa, south of the Peneus? By no other means can I explain the name of the tetrarchy. We must further postulate that a portion of them had not rested in Thessaliotis but had turned further south, across easy passes, to the Spercheus, where they left their name to the 'valley' and to *Δάρισσα* on the north coast of the Maliac gulf, and whither they brought their God.²

¹ This is the same route as that of the Hyperboreans in Herod. iv. 33 *πρώτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον*. The Pelasgians' successors, the Θεσσαλοί, invaded Malis and would have gone further south, *ἐς γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα*, had they not been stopped by the wall the Phocians built at Pylae, Herod. vii. 177 and 215. The poet in Hephaestion, c. 10 *Χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσόκερας βαβάκτα κήλων | Πὰν Πελασγικὸν ἄργος ἐμβατεύων*, uses the words in the later sense (= Arcadia).

² The ordinary story brought them still further south, to Attica.

How does this affect the *Catalogue*? In the *Catalogue* Pelasgians have no separate existence on the Spercheus, they have been overlaid or exterminated by Myrmidons from Aegina, Hellenes who were native, and Achaeans about whom we know nothing. How the name remained who can tell? Why are there Englefields in England far from East Anglia? Why does a Moro Pass connect the Rhône and the Anza?

The barony of Eurypylus (734-7 Ormenion, Hyperea, Asterion, Titanos) must have consisted of Pelasgi, for this is the later Thessaliotis. Homer gives few race-names in 'Thessaly'; after the Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaei we have nothing till we come to the Enienes and Perrhaebi at Dodona, and the Magnetes by the Peneus and Pelion. The Triccaei also may have been Pelasgi. According to one of the two stories in Paus. vii. 19. 6 sqq. Eurypylus did not return to his kingdom, and this may point to a disturbance, which in a district so near Thesprotia is likely. I offer this as a route and scheme by which, when one uses the evidence of Homer, Hesiod and Herodotus (the last of whom probably repeats a much earlier logographer or poet), the Pelasgi may be brought from Dodona to Pelasgiotis and Trachis. If they are first found at Dodona, they appear to be an Epirote or Illyrian race, predecessors of the Thesproti. I arrive at this conclusion, without taking into account Herodotus' further statements, or the Asiatic Pelasgi in Homer, who are viewed by Conon, διηγ. 139 a 25 sqq., as driven from Thessaly by 'Aeolians' (which if true might put the movement further back in time: in the Aeolians we recognize the Mycenaean power moving from the south), and whose connexion is recommended by their *Δάρισσα* (though with the ten Larissae in Stephanus, of which one is in Attica, one in Argolis, and one in Crete, the word cannot be pressed. The *Τηλεβόαι* and the Telebehi seem more striking, *Cat.* 88, 89).

The word *Πελαγός* resembles not closely but not distantly a number of northern names: *Πηλεγών*, father of

Asteropaeus, a Paeonian (B 848 a, Φ 140), Pella, Πελαγόνες, Πελαγονία, Zeus Πέλωρος, Πελώρια, a Pelasgian festival (Baton ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Αἰμονίας F. H. G. iv. 349), the common nouns πελιγόνες, Macedonian for γέροντες, πέλιοι and πελίοι = 'old' in Molossian and Thesprotian (Strabo vii, fr. 2), πελιγᾶνες οἱ ἔνδοξοι Hesych.¹

(7) There is another document which concerns this district (Trachis to Iolcus) and contains the phrase Μυρμιδόνων πόλις, namely the *Scutum Herculis*. I wrote about this in the *Classical Review*, 1906, 199 sqq., and find now that I do not follow all my arguments. I take the opportunity of restating the evidence, for two reasons.

The poem is of course Hesiodic. The writer of the first argument makes the very precise statement that the first 56 lines were to be found ἐν τῷ δ' καταλόγῳ. It was therefore the work of the school; Stesichorus, Megacles, and Apollonius of Rhodes recognized its Hesiodic character, but after the canon laid down at Thespiae (Paus. ix. 31. 4) it can make no claim to the Master's hand. In a document the oldest part of which belongs to the eighth century, and the whole to a period older than Stesichorus, we expect to find the Dorian view of Greece, even as Hesiod himself (*O. D.* 653) makes the armada start for Troy Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς.

The story tells how Hercules and his squire Iolaos, on their way to Ceyx, king of Trachis, were stopped by Cycnus and Ares at Pagasae. The noise of the fight spread over the country:

380 πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ' Ἰαωλκὸς
ἄρνη τ' ἡδ' Ἑλίκη Ἀνθειά τε ποιήεσσα
φωνῇ ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἴαχον.

When they performed this feat Hercules and Iolaos were returning from a campaign of which we have accounts in Apollodorus ii. 156 sq., Diodorus iv. 37; they go back to

¹ The view recently revived which sees πέλας in Πελασγός may be found in § B Lp on Π 233: οἱ δὲ πελαστικὴ οὐ πέλας ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ. *Pari ratione* Mannert (*Geog. d. Griech. u. Röm.* x. 54) said *Veneti* meant wanderers, from *wenden*. (I have not verified this reference.)

Demetrius of Scepsis, Pherecydes and Hesiod himself in the *Aegimius*, of which no relevant fragments remain. After Hercules and Dejanira had travelled from Aetolia and made their home at Trachis, Hercules first relieved his host of the Dryopes, brigands who lived on the Spercheus¹ (Pherecydes, frs. 23, 38), μετὰ δὲ τὴν Δρυόπων ἀνάστασιν, πολέμον συνεστῶτος τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοῖς τὴν Ἑστιαϊῶτιν καλουμένην οἰκοῦσιν, ὃν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγίμιος, καὶ τοῖς Λαπίθαις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἰδρυμένοις, ὃν ἐδυνάστευσε Κόρωνος ὁ Καινέως (Diod. iv. 37. 3). In this passage we see Diodorus and his sources putting Dorians in Hestiaeotis, the historical term for the north-west province of Thessaly, where the Peneus valley opens, of which the towns were Tricca and Oechalia, and which in the generation before Troy belonged to the Asclepiadae. No Dorians are heard of here in historical times, though when they came into Greece the Thessalo-Dorians came this way, and Strabo (437) says that Histiaeotis was once called Doris (φασί). When we arrive at p. 475 we find that this view is Andron's: he said the Cretan Dorians ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐλθεῖν τῆς Δωρίδος μὲν πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Ἑστιαϊώτιδος λεγομένης· ἐξ ἧς ὠρμήθησαν, ὥς φησιν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν οἰκῆσαντες Δωριεῖς καὶ ἔκτισαν τὴν τε Ἐρινεὸν καὶ Βοῖον καὶ Κυτίνιον (Andron, *F. H. G.* ii. 349, fr. 4). The view was not generally accepted, and the ordinary (but impossible) account put Aegimius at Erineus (Strabo 427). Andron has preserved historical truth and a stage in the Dorian advance, the same tradition that is alive in Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 126. No war could have taken place between the Dorian tetrapolis and the Lapithae, but Hestiaeotis and the Lapithae were neighbours.

Dorians in Histiaeotis² take Heracles far to the north

¹ Who settled in Hermione, Herod. viii. 43.

² Herodotus' statement that the Hellenes under Dorus lived in Histiaeotis 'under Ossa and Olympus' at first sight throws the tetrarchy into confusion. But he apparently means by the name here the district of a vanished town Histiaea in Pelasgiotis. Stephanus mentions such an one in v. (ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον Ἑστιαίας). 'Under Ossa and Olympus'

(Paus. i. 27. 6 makes Cynus die *περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Πηνειὸν*, which would suit both the historical Histiaeotis and that in Herodotus), and when his campaign with the usual result was over his return was from north to south. Diod. ib. 4 *ἐπανίων δ' ἐς Τραχῖνα καὶ προκληθεὶς ὑπὸ Κύνου τοῦ Ἄρεος τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν*. Apollodorus is to the same effect, but that he makes the prince slain *ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει* (i. e. at Pagasae) Laogoras the Dryopian king and reserves Cynus for Iton (as Nic. Damasc. fr. 55 *ἐν Ἰτωνίᾳ τῆς Ἀχαΐας*).

Of the places which rang with this encounter Iolcus is known; Arne is not elsewhere found on or near the Phthiotic coast, except in so far as the Boeotians according to Aristotle (*F. H. G.* ii, fr. 280, p. 188) settled on the Pagasaeon gulf at a place called *Κόρακες*. That Aristotle regarded this as the same retirement of Boeotians which took them to Arne is not clear, but the names (Iton, Cuarius or Curalius) are the same in Phthiotis and Thessaliotis. *Ἰτώνιος* is an universal Thessalian month. *Κουράλιος* as a month is found in Phthiotis: see the indices to *I. G.* ix, part 2. Strabo 435 regards the Phthiotic names as the earlier. Hence an Arne may have been found in the Crocian plain.

Anthe or Anthia may be one of the boundary-marks in the arbitration between the Melitaeans, Chalaeanes, and Peumatie (*I. G.* ix, part 2, addenda, p. xi, from *B. C. H.* 1901, 337 sqq.) *εἰς τὴν ναπὴν εἰς τὴν*]*νθειαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρον*. It is not further off than Pharsalus. There is an *ανταία* in the inscription before this (*l. c.*), an arbitration between the people of Thebae Phthiotides and Halos. Helice is not

settles the direction; and the same result is given by combining the account of the wanderings of the Cadmei after the second Theban war in Apollodorus iii. 85 with that in Pausanias ix. 8. 6. Apollodorus says *Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὸν διελθόντες πόλιν Ἑστίαν κτίσαντες κατήκτισαν*. Pausanias says *τούτων οὖν μοῖρα τὴν μὲν ἐς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορείαν ἀπάκνησεν, τραπόμενοι δὲ ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀμόλην, ὁρῶν τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν καὶ εὐγῶν μάλιστα καὶ ὕδασιν ἐπιπρεομένην*. Histiaeotis in this sense is north-east Thessaly, and 'under Ossa and Olympus' = Homole = Histiaea. A town there of the common name Histiaea gave it its title. Cf. p. 343.

known in these parts, but Eustathius 292. 26 (probably from a fuller Stephanus) says ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη [Ἑλική] Θετταλική, and on the map at the end of *I. G.* ix, part 2, I see the modern name Ἀλικές close to Amphanaea (Ἑλική in the text, p. 98).

Μυρμιδόνων πόλις remains. This I made out was Trachis (as it really was, that is in Homer), but as Trachis is mentioned in the poem by its own name, we cannot suppose the same place going both under its own name and under a periphrasis. *Μυρμιδόνων πόλις* is what it was at the time of the poem believed to be, Pharsalus. This in post-Homeric verse was the home of Neoptolemus and the place of captivity of Andromache: we find this in the eighth century in Lesches, *Il. parva*, fr. xviii, and the scholiast on δ 9 *Μυρμιδόνων προτὶ ἄστν* says Homer called it Phthia, the νεώτεροι Pharsalia.

If this is so, the Hesiodic writer was guilty of another and a double anachronism. In the days of Hercules there were no Myrmidons; Peleus, in the next generation more or less, brought them from Aegina; *a fortiori* therefore there was when Hercules engaged Cycnus no *Μυρμιδόνων πόλις* at all. Secondly, the Dorian lords of Pharsalus, relying on the ambiguity of the name Phthia, having appropriated Achilles as an ancestor and therewith his men, the poet accepted their interpretation of Homer. We see how, as early as the eighth century, the facts of the heroic age were misrepresented and how excusable the logographers, the tragedians, the geographers, the mythographers, and the universal historians such as Diodorus are. To accept Homer, and yet fall in with prae-heroic legends and actual circumstances, they telescope the generations.

For it is to be noticed that the poem (in which the fight and other movements take place along the coast-road from Pagasae to Trachis) ignores two of the Homeric provinces. There are no Myrmidons on the Spercheus, Ceyx is king; and equally Protesilaus' place at Phylace, Pyrasus, Iton, Antron, and Pteleos is taken by Cycnus, Ceyx's son-in-law

at Pagasae and Amphanaea (Eur. *Herc. fur.* 392). Two Homeric potentates are gone, and their place is taken by another two. Therefore we seem to have another case of prae-‘Achaean’ local legends surviving and coming up again when the ‘Achaean’ period was over. Of this the greatest example is Corinth (*Catalogue*, pp. 69–71, cf. in this book p. 335): we may add to it the case before us. The Peleus-dynasty had very shallow roots; there were only three lives, and, according to some accounts (*Nosti*, epit.), even Peleus left his kingdom for Illyria,¹ according to all, Neoptolemus did. Their total sojourn cannot have lasted a hundred years: when they went their place literally knew them no more. The Dorian noblemen of Larissa and Pharsalus appropriated Achilles, and in the Pelasgian argos the prae-Achaean legends started up again. Protesilaus’ dynasty goes slightly farther back, and is Aeolid, not foreign (*Catalogue*, pp. 113, 114), but it disappeared into the Dorian Phthiotis. Ceyx and Cynus are as momentary: Ceyx married Alecyone, daughter of Aeolus and sister of Sisyphus, but he was son of Heosphorus, and Cynus son of Ares.

To continue Hercules’ journey (Diod. *l.c.*) 4 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰώνου πορευόμενος καὶ διὰ τῆς Πελασιώτιδος γῆς βαδίζων Ὀρχομενίῳ² τῷ βασιλεῖ συνέμειξεν: after killing him ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Οἰχαλίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Εὐρύτου παῖδας . . . whom he killed; next ἀπῆλθε τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Κηναῖον. Apollodorus says (ii. 155) παρίοντα δὲ Ἰώνον εἰς μονομαχίαν προεκάλεσατο αὐτὸν Κύκνος Ἄρεος καὶ Πελοπίας· συστὰς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὥς δὲ εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν² ἦκεν, Ἀμύντωρ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς

¹ Escaping up the valley and over Tymphrestus, as Samuel of Bulgaria did in Cedrenus ii. 449 sqq. Some Euboeans on their return from Troy were driven to the same place, Strabo 449. Thyestes fled to the Thesproti, Hyginus 88; Helen was carried off by Aidoneus king of the Molossi, Cyril 11 B Migne. Cadmus also was driven from Thebes εἰς Ἰλλυριοῦς (e.g. § Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 153 b). It is not plain how this appropriation of Thesprotia as a refuge for dispossessed dynasties is to be explained. According to Callimachus, fr. 372, Peleus died on the island of Icus.

² The word is corrected and rightly into Ὀρμενίῳ, Ὀρμενον. In Diodorus

μεθ' ὅπλων οὐκ εἶα διέρχεσθαι· κωλυόμενος δὲ παρίεναι καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν. (156) ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Τραχῖνα στρατιὰν ἐπ' Οἰχαλίαν συνήθροισεν, Εὐρυτον τιμωρήσασθαι θέλων. In both accounts, with difference of detail, Hercules' journey is back from Thessaly, the country of the Lapithae, to Trachis. Hence, after Pagasae and after Iton or Itonus, we have 'Orchomenion', or king 'Orchomenius'. This town was between Iton and Trachis. No such place is known. And Diodorus, by his use of the tetrarchy Pelasgiotis, shows that he means the town which his source Demetrius declared existed near Iolcus (*Catalogue*, p. 126). But somehow their common source put it on the coast-road between Iton and Trachis. We see the confusion of the logographi when they adjusted epic statements and heraldic history; one turned a town into a man, both misplaced the spot. Where Amyntor, son of Ormenos, really lived is suggested *Catalogue* l. c. (this book, p. 344).

the quotation in Eusebius, *praep. ev.* 2. 30, reads Ἀρμενίῳ, for which see *Catalogue*, p. 127. In the argument also to the Trachiniae, which is an extract from Diodorus, we find ὀρχομένον.

CHAPTER VII

DICTYS OF CRETE: THE HEROIC CHRONICLE

WHAT went before Homer? What preceded the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*? No one now imagines that they are the result of their author's creative art, like a statue or a symphony—especially at a moment of criticism when the individual is decried and crowd-psychology regards human productions as growths or common efforts. The answers given to this question have rested on nothing better than the analysis of the poems, a method proved futile and one may hope discredited by its results, according to which discrepancies felt by a single reader are referred to as many 'sources'; or on speculations upon the origin of the hexameter verse, about which we know nothing at all.

Yet it ought to be possible to frame a hypothesis of the origin of two vast poems, of over 15,000 and 12,000 lines respectively, at the period, namely, early in the colonial history of Chios to which we have referred them. The data on which a hypothesis may be built are (a) Greek tradition, (b) the picture of poetry and poets in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, (c) the contrast between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on the one hand and the Cycle and other accounts of the Trojan war on the other.

A

The ancients themselves firmly believed, during the whole period of which we have information, that Homer and Hesiod had predecessors.¹ Herodotus' remark ii. 53 οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὕστερον ἔμοιγε δοκέειν ἐγένοντο conveys both the general opinion and Herodotus' doubt of it.² Hesiod himself (fr. 193)

¹ An exception, but a poor one, is Dio Prus. xi. 92 οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ἑτέρων ποιητῶν οὐδὲ συγγραφέων παρ' οἷς ἐλέγετο τάληθες ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐπιθέμενος ὑπὲρ τούτων γράφειν. For Sextus see p. 182.

² Herodotus' critical sense for literature is remarkable. His doubt, on

mentions Linus as παντοίης σοφίης δεδαηκότα, and, like Hesiod, οὔτε τι ναυτιλίας δεδαηκότα. Verses going under his name in the second century P. C. were declared κίβδηλα by Pausanias viii. 18. In the fifth century the predecessors given Hesiod and Homer were Linus, Orpheus, and Musaeus. When Aristophanes says (*Frogs* 1030)

σκέψαι γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
ὥς ὠφέλιμοι τῶν ποιητῶν οἱ γενναῖοι γεγέννηνται.
'Ορφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέ-
χεσθαι,
Μουσαῖος δ' ἐξακέσεις τε νόσων καὶ χρησμούς, 'Ησίοδος δὲ
γῆς ἐργασίας καρπῶν ὥρας ἀρότους· ὁ δὲ θεῖος 'Ομηρος
ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμὴν καὶ κλέος ἔσχεν πλὴν τοῦδ' ὅτι χρήστ'
ἐδίδαξεν,
τάξεις ἀρετὰς ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν;

it cannot be an accident that he arranges the names in the same order as Hippias of Elis (*F. H. G.* ii. 61, fr. 6) quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 2. 15. 1 τούτων ἴσως ἔρηται τὰ μὲν 'Ορφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Μουσαίῳ, κατὰ βραχὺ ἄλλω ἀλλαχοῦ, τὰ δὲ 'Ησιόδῳ, τὰ δὲ 'Ομήρῳ, τὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν ποιητῶν. In the same century Critias, who was an accomplished man, gave Orpheus as the inventor of the hexameter (*F. H. G.* ii. 70, fr. 10); Democritus (ib.) preferred Musaeus, Persinus¹ (ap. Mall. Theodor. *de metris* iv. 1 = *Gramm. Lat.* vi. 580), Linus. Plato (*Laws* 677 D) gives Daedalus, Orpheus, Palamedes, Marsyas, Olympus, and Amphion fabulous antiquity (χίλια ἢ δις τοσαῦτα ἔτη). Sextus Emp. *adv. math.* i. 203 himself believes in the antiquity of Homer, but admits that others thought he had

internal evidence, of the ascription of the *Cypria* to Homer (ii. 117) is in contrast to the credulity of Thucydides, who, whatever the merits of his picture of the early Greek world, accepted the Hymn to Apollo as Homeric, herein almost as unreflecting as Hellanicus with his anachronisms (Strabo 451). Herodotus may have owed his faculty to his Carian blood and the professional talent in his family. Similar discernment resided in Aristotle, who declared (*F. H. G.* ii. 185, fr. 273) that there was no poet Orpheus at all. A grammarian *an. Bekk.* 785. 15 argues against the genuineness of the poems believed older than Homer.

¹ This is apparently the poet mentioned by Callisthenes, *F. H. G.* v. fr. 41, and therefore of the fourth century.

predecessors, Linus, Orpheus, Musaeus, καὶ ἄλλους παμπληθεῖς. These personages were principally regarded in the light of prophets and givers of oracles, that is as belonging to religion, and this no doubt contributed to the facility with which their claims to antiquity were accepted; for the same reason Aristaeus of Proconnesus, however absurdly, was considered Homer's teacher (Strabo 639). Their poems seem to have been in existence in Celsus' day; Origen, *in Cels.* i. 16 Λίνον δὲ καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ τὸν Φερικύδην καὶ τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην καὶ Πυθαγόραν φήσας . . . πεφυλάχθαι αὐτὰ μέχρι δεῦρο. Origen himself implies that Orphica were in existence (ib. and 18 init.).

As time went on (or is it because our information becomes fuller?) we find Orpheus and the Orphica filling a considerable space in the table of Greek literature. In the Hesiodic school (fr. 226) as in the later writers Phemonoe was said to have first broken into verse; Orpheus preceded Musaeus and Hesiod according to Pliny's source (*N. H.* xxv. 2.12); Dionysius ὁ κυκλογράφος (*F. H. G.* ii. 10, fr. 10)¹ made Orpheus one generation older than Homer. Apollodorus in his handbook (i. 14 al.) makes him son of Oeagrus and Calliope; Asclepiades of Myrlea (*F. H. G.* iii. 303, fr. 8) made Orpheus and Linus sons of Apollo and Calliope. The Homeric genealogies, which go back to Damastes and Acusilaus, exhibit Linus, Orpheus, and Musaeus among Homer's ancestors (see the Table). Herodorus (ap. Olympiodor. *F. H. G.* iv. 63, fr. 28) compiled τὴν Ὀρφείως καὶ Μουσαίου ἱστορίαν: Epigenes' work περὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀρφέα ποιήσεως² supplied his successors with much of their information. A considerable number of lines have been recovered, some from Plato and Aristotle, the greater number from post-Christian writers. Diodorus, who wrote on the turn of the

¹ His date may be put as far back as s. iii B. C. See Schwartz in Pauly s. v. His manual (οὗτος τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα συντέτακται, παρατιθεῖς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν Diod. iii. 66) accounted for many quotations in later writers.

² Cohn in Pauly vi. 65 refers Epigenes to the Alexandrian period.

two eras, makes much use of Orpheus and gives him the same precedence over Homer: i. 69. 4 ἔσπευσαν εἰς αὐτὴν [τὴν Αἴγυπτον] παραβαλεῖν τῶν μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτων Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ὀμηρος, τῶν δὲ μεταγενεστέρων ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος κτλ. 96. 2 οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις παραβαλεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ παλαιὸν Ὀρφέα τε καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Μελάμποδα καὶ Δαίδαλον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὀμηρόν τε τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Λυκοῦργον κτλ. 4 Ὀρφέα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν τελετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑνυτοῦ πλάνην ὀργιαζόμενα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν ἄδου μυθοποιίαν ἀπενέγκασθαι . . . 6 τοῦ δ' Ὀρφέως τοῦτο καταδείξαντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν Ὀμηρον ἀκολούθως τούτῳ θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν [ω 1, 2, 11-14]. Further iii. 67 (from Dionysius) Linus discovered rhythms and tune, and also 'adapted' Cadmus' Phoenician alphabet to Greek use, when from the Pelasgians who used them they were called Pelasgian. Linus' disciples were Heracles, Thamyras, and Orpheus. Linus left behind him in the Pelasgian alphabet the actions of Dionysus and the other mythologies: in the same alphabet wrote Orpheus and Pronapides,¹ Homer's teacher, εὐφυῇ γεγονότα μελοποιόν. Another contemporary of Orpheus, Thymoetes, son of Thymoetes son of Laomedon, composed on the subject of Dionysus τὴν Φρυγίαν ὀνομαζομένην ποίησιν, ἀρχαῖκοις τῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι χρησάμενος. (Further on Orpheus iv. 25. 2-4.) Homer also took many lines from Daphne the Pythia (iv. 66. 6).²

But the most frequent reference and the greatest number of quotations come from the writers of the second century P. C., whether Christian Apologetae or Pausanias. The Christians, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Clement of Alexandria, repeat each his predecessor, only Clement being much the most voluminous has a great deal which the others have not. They do not quote any particular

¹ Pronapes was an Athenian name; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 74, Isaeus vii. 18. Pronapides introduced the Ionic alphabet, *an. Bekk.* ii. 783.

² Ἡεῖδον μὲν ἐγὼν ὁ δ' ἀπέγραφε θεῖος Ὀμηρος, an oracle in Synesius 1157 B Migne (vol. 66).

source, but Clement, *Strom.* i. 131. 3, v. 8. 49. 3, uses Epigenes ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀρφέα ποιήσεως (see *ante*, p. 132), who in the second quotation cites and interprets Orphic phrases; Justin uses Diodorus; Clement Dionysius, *Protr.* 47. 6. At the same time the number of verses they cite makes one think that they read the Orphic poems.¹ They compare them with Homer, and seek to prove that Homer utilized and altered them. Justin, *Cohort.* 17, says that μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος was copied from μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου. (He makes the curious but common remark that the Homeric line was unmetrical: cf. Plut. *Mor.* 80 D and Eust. 11. 42 sq. on its χασμυδία.) Clement, *Strom.* vi. 2. 5. 3, has more: λ 427 came from Orpheus (fr. 264), Ψ 315 from Musaeus (fr. 4 Diels), Ζ 147-9 from Musaeus (fr. 5). Athenagoras (28. 18) says that the line ὠκεανὸς ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται (Ξ 246) came from Orpheus (cf. Justin, *Cohort.* 5). Philostratus, *Heroicus* 301, conceives that B 412 was modelled on a couplet of Pamphos. Homer was later than Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Pamphos, and covertly criticized the two latter.

On the point of language it is impossible to refute this charge; Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου is as good as Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος, and the critics of the second century were inclined to favour the antiquity of the Orphica from their simplicity and piety, as the honest Pausanias says when he contrasts the Orphic and the Homeric hymns (ix. 30. 12): ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας ἑκαστόν τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύτατον καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν πεποιημένους . . . κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροντο ἂν μετὰ γε Ὀμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἐκείνων ἤκουσι;² here he agrees with Philostratus, *Heroic.* 300 [Ὀμηρον] μεγαλορρημοσύνην ὑπὲρ τὸν

¹ They are quoted as late as Cyril (25 A 26 A 33 A). Origen on the other hand (in *Celsum* xi. 1. 693 Migne) doubts their survival.

² Similarly Plutarch, *Mor.* 396 c πολλάκις ἔφη θανμάσαι τῶν ἐπῶν ὁ Διογενιανὸς ἐν οἷς οἱ χρησμοὶ λέγονται τὴν φαυλότητα καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν . . . τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν χρησμῶν ὁρῶμεν καὶ τοῖς μέτροις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι πλημμελείας καὶ φαυλότητος ἀναπεπλησμένους.

Ὀρφέα ἀσκῆσαι ἡδονῇ τε ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὸν Ἡσίοδον. So (x. 7. 2) Pausanias finds Chrysothemis, Philammon, Thamyras, Orpheus, and Musaeus older than Hesiod and Homer, as in the region of hymns (ix. 27. 2) Olen was older than Pamphos and Orpheus.

Still, since the Orphic movement in general is held by modern authorities to have come into Greece fairly late, and as the Orphic writings were declared non-Orphic by Aristotle (p. 131 n.) and were assigned their real authors of the Pisistratean period by various writers (represented to us by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 131 and Suidas in Ὀρφεύς, cf. p. 71), we cannot hold them to be older than poems which we have already referred to the ninth or tenth century.

That religious verse-oracles, τελεταί, hymns should have been accepted as older than Homer is perhaps natural; their sanctity and esoteric mysticism seemed to belong to an earlier age than the heroic. But Homer in his historical capacity, as annalist of the Trojan war, was held to have had predecessors.¹

What may be called the earliest extant list of epopoeie is that of Demetrius Phalereus, doubtless from his περὶ ποιητῶν (D. L. v. 80), given in the scholia on γ 267 (omitted in *F. H. G.* ii). He represents Perimedes of Argos as the oldest poet, whose disciples were Automedes of Mycenae (who wrote the battle of Amphitryon with the Teleboae and the quarrel of Cithaeron and Helicon), and besides him Licymnius of Buprasium, Sinis, Dorieus, Phasidas the Laconian, and Proboles the Spartiate. Automedes' disciple was Demodocus the Spartan. In the same scholion Timolaos (who if he is the son of Anaximenes and himself doubled the *Iliad*, as we are told by Suidas s. v., was of the same period) declared that Phemius and Demodocus were brothers. It

¹ The distinction between religious and historical verse is not absolute. A Musaeus, we do not know who, wrote a *Thesprotia* or *Thesprotis* which was bodily conveyed by Euegammon into his Τηλεγονία (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 25. 2). Alexander Polyhistor (*F. H. G.* iii. 221, fr. 14) identified Musaeus and Moses.

would be useless if it were possible to analyse this list. We notice that all the poets are Peloponnesian, as is correct for the heroic age, and that Automedes is conceived as chronicling the Teleboan war, a subject of the Hesiodic cycle, as we see from the *Scutum*; see pp. 124 sqq.

Another list of poets, both lyric and epic, is preserved by Plutarch, *de Musica* 1132 A from Heraclides ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ who himself drew ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένης δι' ἧς τὰς τε ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ὀνομάζει. They are Linus of Euboea (θρήνοι), Anthes of Anthedon (hymns), Pieros of Pieria (τὰ περὶ τὰς Μούσας ποιήματα), Philammon of Delphi (the birth of Artemis and Apollo ἐν μέλεσι), Thamyras (the war of the Titans and Gods); Demodocus, Phemius.

These lists, which date from the Peripatetic or early Alexandrine period, gain as time goes on in number, and several chroniclers of the Trojan war itself appear. The period when we actually find them is again the first or second century after Christ, and they are about equally divided between the Fathers and the anecdotists or small pagan historians. I give the *pas* to the Early Church.

Tatian, who is the most violent of the four Apologetae, has a wonderful list (*adv. gentes* 41): as he gives them the poets are Linus, Philammon, Thamyras, Apion, Musaeus, Orpheus, Demodocus, Phemius, Sibylla, Epimenides of Crete, Aristaeas of Proconnesus, Asbolus the centaur, Isatis, Drymon, Euclus of Cyprus, Horus of Samos ("Ἵνρου τοῦ Σαμίον: is he a singular from ὄροι Σάμιοι or Σαμίων?), Pronapides of Athens. The Sibyl is added, perhaps for the first time; the chronology involved in the position given to Epimenides and Aristaeas is remarkable (see p. 132). Of the rest Asbolus owes his position to his divine faculty: he is an οἰωνιστής, *Scut. Herc.* 185; Drymon is a Pythagorean, from Caulonia, Iamblichus *vit. Pythag.* xxxvi. 267, and after Aristaeas no one can say that he is not meant; Εὐκλος of Cyprus is Εὐκλούς, a Cyprian χρησμολόγος in Pausanias x. 12. 11, who had read his oracles, as those of

Musaeus and Bacis : he was older than Bacis (s. vi), *ib.* 14. 7, and even predicted Homer's birth (in Cyprus), 24. 3. Pausanias at the last place exhibits a prudent reserve. Neither the dictionaries nor I can cast any light upon "*Ισατις*. Clement, *Strom.* i. 80. 3, introduces different elements : the heroic hexameter was invented by Phanothea a wife of Icarus, or by Themis one of the Titanides, Theano first wrote poetry on the authority of Didymus *ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας* ; again 107. 4 Phemonoe first prophesied, to Acrisius, and this happened 127 years before Orpheus, Musaeus, and Linus the teacher of Hercules ; Homer and Hesiod were much later than the Trojan war.

The heathen on their side give a similar account, but with some new names and less preoccupation with oracles, to which their love of demons inclined the Fathers. Thus Ptolemaeus Hephaestionis (ap. Photium *bibl.* f. 151 a 37 Bekk.) *ὅτι Φαντασία τις Μεμφίτις Νικάρχου θυγάτηρ συνέταξε πρὸ 'Ομήρου τὸν 'Ιλιακὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν περὶ 'Οδυσσεΐας διήγησιν καὶ ἀποκεῖσθαι φασὶ τὰς βίβλους ἐν Μέμφιδι, "Ομηρον δὲ παραγενόμενον καὶ τὰ ἀντίγραφα λαβόντα παρὰ Φανίτου τοῦ ἱερογραμματέως συντάξαι ἐκείνοις ἀκολουθῶς.* (So Eustathius 1379. 62 on the authority of Naucrates, who, of Erythrae, commented on Homer, Steph. Byz. in *'Ερυθραί*, Eust. 267. 2). Aelian, *V. H.* xi. 2 *ὅτι ἦν 'Οροιβαντίου Τροιζηνίου ἔπη πρὸ 'Ομήρου, ὥς φασὶ Τροιζήνιοι λόγοι. καὶ τὸν Φρύγα δὲ Δάρητα, οὗ Φρυγίαν 'Ιλιάδα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποσωζομένην οἶδα, πρὸ 'Ομήρου καὶ τοῦτον γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Μελήσανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων μάχην ἔγραψεν. xiv. 21 ὅτι Οἶαγρός τις ἐγένετο ποιητὴς μετ' 'Ορφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον, ὃς λέγεται τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον πρῶτος ᾄσαι, μεγίστης οὗτος ὑποθέσεως λαβόμενος καὶ ἐπιτολμήσας ταύτην.* Pausanias x. 5. 7 Phemonoe πρώτη τὸ ἐξάμετρον ᾗσεν (three of the verses *ib.* 6. 7 ; the Peleidae were older than she, *ib.* 12. 10). Cf. Proclus, *Chrestomathia* in Phot. *bibl.* f. 319 a 8. For Dares see Antipater of Acanthus (? cf. *F. H. G.* ii. 331 ex Suida) ap. Ptol. Heph. 147 a 26 *'Αντίπατρος δὲ φησιν ὁ Ἀκάνθιος Δάρητα, πρὸ 'Ομήρου*

γράφαντα τὴν Ἰλιάδα, μνήμονα γενέσθαι Ἐκτορος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν ἑταῖρον Ἀχιλλέως. καὶ Πρωτεσιλάου δέ φησι Δάρδανον γενέσθαι, γένος Θεσσαλόν· καὶ Ἀντιλόχῳ δὲ Χάλκωνα ὑπασπιστὴν καὶ μνήμονα ὑπὸ Νέστορος συνεξεῦχθαι τοῦ πατρός. Orpheus, Musaeus, Pamphos, and Hesiod are mentioned in his fantastic way by Philostratus, *Heroic*. 301, as older than Homer; 287 Philostratus regards prae-Homeric poetry as having consisted solely of oracles with the exception of the story of Hercules.

New names, Corinnus and Eumolpus, occur in Suidas. Eumolpus, son of Musaeus, was before Homer, Suidas in v. (He was religious however, and wrote the Eleusinian story and faith in 3,000 verses.) Corinnus belongs to a different category (Suid. in v.). He was a Trojan, *πρῶτος γράψας τὴν Ἰλιάδα, ἔτι τῶν Τρωικῶν συνισταμένων*. A pupil of Palamedes, he used the *Δωρικὰ γράμματα* discovered by him. He also wrote the war between Dardanus and the Paphlagonians. Homer took his whole subject from him. Corinnus invites classification with Dares, Dictys, and Sisyphus, to whom we come.

What do these names and these traditions give us? Not very much. The religious poets, as I have observed, must go below Homer inasmuch as their religions came into Greece relatively late and well in the Dorian period. The local traditions about them bring them from Macedonia and the Balkans. Such an epoch and such a quarter have no bearing on Homer. The names themselves are often fiction, as Phantasia and Phemonoe; or they are natural Greek names, as Euclus (cf. Ἄντικλος, Δόρυκλος, Ἰφικλος), Drymon, Pronapides; or again they are clearly foreign, as Thamyris, Sibylla; or resist interpretation, as Sinis, Asbolus, Isatis.¹ We notice that later poets and prophets—with the excep-

¹ Here we may add Sagaris, Homer's rival: Aristotle, fr. 279 (*F. H. G.* ii, p. 187) Σάγαρις . . . Ὀμήρῳ [ἐφιλονείκει] καὶ Κέρκῳ Ἡσιόδῳ. Sagaris has an Asiatic air; Σάγαρις Μαρνανδυνός, Clearchus fr. 13; another was the son of the Loerian Ajax and founded Sybaris, Solinus 2. 10. He is Σύαγρος in Eust. 4. 26, Σάτυρος arg. *Ran.* iv. (Σύαγρα is an Asiatic place-name, Sundwall, *Klio*, 1913, pp. 114, 253.)

tion of Aristeas and Epimenides—are not among them, and that nearly all the personages are ascribed to continental Greece.

On the whole we cannot say much more than that the Greeks thought that Homer had predecessors;¹ and this view is best put and with most circumspection, as one might expect, by Polybius. He says (xii. 25 i. 1) that Homer is an example of history ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων, that is, of compilation and selection among the works of predecessors, the method of Timaeus who (25 d. 1) settled at Athens for fifty years πρὸς τοῖς τῶν προγεγονότων ὑπομνήμασι γενόμενος (cf. xii. 27. 4 εἰάν τις αὐτὸ τοῦτο προνοηθῇ μόνον ὥστε λαβεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἔχουσιν ὑπομνημάτων πλήθος ἢ βιβλιοθήκην γεινῶσαν), and of Diodorus in his turn, who (i. 4) being able to speak Latin utilized the ὑπομνήματα concentrated at Rome. Homer therefore, according to Polybius, was the first to set the fashion so universally followed by his successors of compilation and combination. And indeed before the conception of archives and their utilization existed, what else could an ἱστοριογράφος do? Polybius holds that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* came down from antiquity and that Homer added little to them: xxxiv. 2. 9 in the words of Strabo 24 ταῦτα δὲ προοικονομησάμενος οὐκ ἐξ τὸν Αἴολον ἐν μύθου σχήματι ἀκούεσθαι οὐδ' ὅλην τὴν Ὀδυσσεύως πλάνην, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ μὲν προσμεμνηθεῖσθαι καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ἰλιακῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ δ' ὅλον περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ πεποιησθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγραφεῦσιν ὅσοι τὰ ἐπιχώρια λέγουσι τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν.² These words are a text for my section D.

B

I next collect the evidence of the poems themselves about the heroic singers. The poems present a picture of a past heroic age, and within that of the person of the singer. We

¹ Homer himself seems to admit predecessors when he says (α 10) of Ulysses' adventures τῶν ἀμύθεν γε θεὰ θύγατερ Διὸς εἰπέ καὶ ἡ μῖν.

² Philostratus, *Heroic*. 302 (cf. 313), takes a severer view, and calls Ulysses Homer's παῖγνιον.

see the singer at his work, and what his work was. We have therefore the view held by the author of these poems about his predecessors at the time of the events he describes.

The *Iliad*, a poem of camps, has no place for the bard. Agamemnon who had one, and likewise Ulysses, left him at home. The accomplished Achilles soothed his aching heart by singing tales of bygone men, ᾄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν;¹ and his taste for history he derived from his father Peleus, who knew every one's descent (*H* 128 πάντων Ἀργείων ἐρέων γενεήν τε τόκον τε) and was the first known genealogist. This was one of the graces of this *preux chevalier*; the ordinary diotrephe, like the average mediaeval baron, did not touch the harp; his music was provided for him by his servant the αἰδός. The *Odyssey*, a poem which deals with people at their ease at home, supplies many instances of the professional bard at work. Thus α 325, in Ulysses' house in Ithaca, a bard sang the return of the Achaeans from Troy:

τοῖσι δ' αἰδὸς ᾄειδε περικλυτός, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ
εἶατ' ἀκούοντες· ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ᾄειδε
λυγρόν, ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

The audience listen in silence, and Penelope hearing the sound comes down into the hall and begs Phemius not to choose this particular theme:

337 Φῆμιε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας,
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τὰ τε κλείουσιν αἰδοί,
τῶν ἔν γέ σφιν ᾄειδε παρήμενος, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ
οἶνον πινόντων· ταύτης δ' ἀποπαύε' αἰοιδῆς.

Telemachus takes up the minstrel's defence, and says if he sings the Achaeans' return it is to please his public which likes the newest song:

350 τούτῳ δ' οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον αἰδεῖν·
τὴν γὰρ αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι
ἧτις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτῃ ἀμφιπέληται.

¹ Cf. p. 108.

Phemius therefore had a stock of history human and divine, and his profession entailed continual addition to his *répertoire*. We see further how quickly events become history: before the *νόστος Ἀχαιῶν* was complete, and within ten years after the fall of Troy, it was, so to speak, in circulation. The bards had it and it was demanded as the latest thing. The *nostoi* of all the heroes, says Telemachus γ 86, were now known, except his father's.

Proteus too in Egypt δ 492 sqq. knew the *nostoi* of all the heroes before Menelaus had returned to Sparta, miraculously, but the poet gave him current information. We may wonder if the story of Orestes and how he killed Aegisthus, which Mentor presumes Telemachus had heard (α 298) had floated to Ithaca by this means. To Nestor (γ 202 sqq.) Telemachus admits the glory of Orestes' deed, and that it is, or will be, *έσσομένοισιν αἰοιδή*, that is will enter into bardic history.

When the poet takes us to Scheria and the court of Alcinous, we find Phemius' colleague, the blind Demodocus. During the entertainment, whether in ordinary course or specially for Ulysses' honour, Demodocus performs the following 'pieces':

θ 73 the quarrel of Ulysses and Achilles:

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' αἰοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν αἰειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν
οἴμης τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔκανε,
νείκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλεΐδew Ἀχιλλῆος.

The Muse inspired him to take the theme (*οἴμη*) then so much in vogue, a circumstance of the later *Tale of Troy*, not included in our extant *Iliad*. Next in the *ἀγών* θ 256 sq. we find as one number a sort of 'hymn', as it would have been called in later times, that is a hundred lines upon the loves of Ares and Aphrodite. At the next banquet 487 sqq. Demodocus returns to history. The stranger Ulysses suggests a topic:

487 Δημόδοκ', ἔξοχα δὴ σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἀπάντων·
ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Διὸς παῖς ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων·

λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον αἰεῖδεις
 ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί,
 ὥς τέ που ἦ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας.
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετὰβηθι καὶ ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον
 δοουρατέου, τὸν Ἑπειδὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ.

He pays him a gracious compliment upon the exactitude of his previous recitation, and begs him to take another moment in the tale. Evidently Demodocus could 'have obliged' whenever he was put on, for

499 ὥς φάθ', ὁ δ' ὀρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, φαῖνε δ' αἰοιδήν,
 ἔνθεν ἔλawn ὥς οἱ μὲν ἐυσσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν
 βάντες ἀπέπλειον . . .

He had only to collect himself and start at any point. And the company, not only Ulysses, repeatedly called upon him, θ 90, 91. So by the time that Ulysses was nearing his home the οἶτος Ἀχαιῶν was common knowledge, and the best incidents in it were demanded at dinners and known by heart by the bards. The general idea of the poet as a story-teller is given λ 368, where Alcinous praises Ulysses because

μῦθον δ' ὥς ὅτ' αἰοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας.

He produces the same effect upon a smaller audience, Eumaeus and his men ρ 318. The object of public curiosity is represented by Aeolus' question κ 15

Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν.

On the same ground the Sirens, whom we think of as sweet singers, ask Ulysses to stop, that they have the news,¹

μ 189 ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ
 Ἀργεῖοι Τρῳῆς τε θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν.

¹ Mr. Lang objected to this that I made the Sirens a 'poetical gazette'. But the same view was taken by Sextus Empiricus, *adv. math.* i. 11 ἡ γραμματικὴ . . . σχεδόν τι τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων ὑπόσχεσιν ὑποσχνουμένη. ἐκεῖναι μὲν γὰρ εἰδυῖαι ὅτι φύσει φιλοπευθῆς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πολλὰ αὐτῷ κατὰ στέργων τῆς ἀληθείας ἡμέρος ἐντέτῃκεν, οὐ μόνον θεσπεσίους μέλεσι κηλήσειν τοὺς παραπλέοντας ὑποσχνοῦνται ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοὺς διδάσειν. They were the lighthouse men who hand out news to passing ships.

According then to the statements of the *Odyssey*, bards performed professionally at kings' boards, to entrance and inform the banqueters when their hunger was satisfied. In later days *αὐλητρίδες* and sword-swallowers facilitated digestion, or the company sang catches, asked each other conundrums or subjected their children to oral examination. In the heroic age they liked to be told the news, and failing that would put up with ancient history. At the moment of the *Odyssey* the subjects asked for and listened to were the last great events of contemporary history, the siege of Troy and the return of the Greek sovereigns. The audience could ask the bard to begin this tale at any moment, the whole series was in the bardic memory. In other words a body of verse was extant, deposited in the heads of a professional class (*δημοεργοί* ρ 383), who invoke, as they well may, Mnemosyne (*ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὧς πάντ' ἀγορεῦσαι*). As they were called upon at every important dinner and the audience were exacting and interested, they must, to satisfy their hearers, have held a whole cycle in their heads. They were perhaps assisted by books, but Homer does not divulge these professional secrets. When also we see that Achilles, himself an actor in the *Tale of Troy*, possessed 'stories of men', we conclude that the stock of heroic poetry consisted (besides theology) of past history, and vice versa that the salient and greater feats of past history were extant in verse, or in the minds of verse-singers, and remained till aftertimes. No one will object to see such verse-history in the various *παρεκβάσεις* of the *Iliad*—the wars between the Pylians and Arcadians, Pylians and Eleans, the clearing of the hairy men out of Pelion by the Lapithae, the story of Meleager.

This picture, which, it should be observed, comes from a professional quarter, represents the heroic bards as sources of past and present information; and information about the past and present as in their hands. When accidentally a portion of it is sung to an actor in the tale, he is made to praise its accuracy and vividness. We draw what seems

to me an unforced and natural conclusion that the bards, children of Memory, had in their hands a chronicle,¹ to give it no more questionable name. This chronicle will have contained the feats (military, for an early people has no other) of the nation in the foreground—in the case of the Achæan period the two joint wars, one internal, against Thebes; the other, oversea, against Asiatic Troy. It contained also recollections, on the way to fading, of earlier feats and events.

This is what, in a word taken from Scandinavia, is usually called Saga, more or less correctly. For while in mediaeval times there were usually two sources of information existing simultaneously—the written annals, work of a convent, and a poem recited by a minstrel—in the Greek heroic age, so far as we know, all tradition was metrical, and therefore heroic saga approached much more nearly to fact than the mediaeval. This is not merely argumentative: we have a specimen of Greek heroic saga which is demonstrably accurate, the *Catalogue of Ships*; and the *Iliad* as a whole gives a truthful account of a portion of a real war in a real place, though the motives and the parts played by the personages have been altered. We may infer that the other interstate heroic undertaking, the Siege of Thebes, was sung with substantial truth.

It has been objected that the Homeric description of the heroic bard and his subject cannot be treated as historical, and that to rely on it is 'naïf'. If Homer gives a picture of the circumstances of the minstrel in continental Greece in the period before the settlement in Asia, why should this be romance? In the first place it is a statement made by a professional of his ancestor. Professional tradition is usually alive and a matter of honour. Regiments retain a knowledge of their uniforms, regimental names, legends,

¹ Metrical, according to the analogy of the northern poems (Chadwick, *Heroic Age* 77, 78) and general probability. The Homeric hexameter implies ages of verse.

and achievements. Even more so Music and the Stage; consider the 'Maison de Molière' and its archives. Moreover, if we look at the *Odyssey*, we see that Homer has neither exalted his ancestor, nor committed the anachronism of importing his own circumstances into the heroic age, and yet, if his account is not correct, it must have deviated from truth in either of these two ways. The Homeric bards are not sons of Apollo or Calliope, they have none of the Orpheus or Musaeus or Amphion atmosphere. They are poor old men, fit for no other occupation, in one case blind, public servants, and, though their gift is admired, beneath in fortune the cowkeeper or the housekeeper. In fact their humility induced the biographers of Homer to invest him with beggary and blindness and a simplicity probably untrue. Again, Homer did not, intentionally or unintentionally, project his own age into the heroic.¹ We cannot speak of colonial poetry until the eighth century; but by that time the condition of the new world, which must have operated from soon after the colonization, had changed the professional world entirely. The great commercial towns of Ionia had leisure for the Muse only on fixed days, and the artist appeared in different towns on their local festivals. The touring artist appeared, Cynaethus, who could engage to celebrate the Deliades all over the world, and who brought Homer to Syracuse; Arion, a Lesbian, who toured in the same waters, but lost his earnings on his return; Magnes, who revolved between Greek cities and the court of Sardis. There is none of this in the *Odyssey*: the Great House in the village, and a blind man at the table, are represented, and truly, as the germ from which the gorgeous Ion sprang. In fact, Homer is faithful to heroic social conditions generally, and, naturally, to the bard's position in particular.

¹ Homer allows the heroic bards to accompany themselves with the *κιθάρα*. He, and the rhapsodes who followed him, held nothing but a stick. Hesiod was turned out of Delphi, home of melic poetry, for being unable *κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ψῆγῃ* (Paus. x. 7. 3).

I regard it as made out that metrical saga or chronicle existed in early times in Hellas as in most other countries :¹ its subjects were the usual subjects of saga, the siege of Thebes, the siege of Troy. Earlier bards had sung of earlier Achæan or heroic feats, alluded to in the *Iliad* by Nestor; the exploits of Hercules, of Meleager, of Jason, and of Nestor himself. These do not go far back and belong to the same political society.

C

I observed, p. 138, that Corinnus, Sisyphus, Dictys, and Dares belong to a group of historical works attributed to contemporaries of the Trojan war and bearing their names. Corinnus and Dares were Trojans, Dictys and Sisyphus Greeks. I have given the existing information about Corinnus p. 138. Sisyphus, of Cos not of Corinth, is quoted by Malalas. He dealt with the *Νόστοι*, as Malalas says, 132. 19, ed. Bonn, *ταῦτα δὲ Σίσυφος ὁ Κῶος συνεγράψατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπάρχων σὺν τῷ Τεύκρῳ, ἥντινα συγγραφὴν εὐρηκὼς Ὀμηρὸς ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν Ἰλιάδα ἐξέθετο καὶ Βεργίλλιος τὰ λοιπά*. He quotes him in this passage on the adventures of Pyrrhus, and 117. 1, 119. 22 on Ulysses' wanderings. Sisyphus was probably still extant in Malalas' day. He has missed his notice in Suidas.

In a curious passage, Dictys vi. 7, 'Assandrus' narrates the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Is this an appropriation of another poem by an eyewitness Asander?

Dictys remains in six books in Latin (ed. Meister, 1872). He is quoted (in Greek) several times by Malalas (e. g. 135. 12, the trial of Orestes, *ταῦτα Δίκτυς ἐν τῇ ἔκτῃ αὐτοῦ ραψῳδίᾳ ἐξέθετο*). A portion of its Greek original (the existence of which had been denied²) came to light in 1907

¹ Cf. e. g. what Strabo says of the Turdetani (139): *τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐπῶν*.

² But established, before the discovery of the papyrus, simultaneously by Noack, *Philologus*, *Supplementband*, 1892, 401 sqq., and Patzig, *Byzantinische*

in the Tebtunis papyrus, vol. ii, no. 268 (s. iii p.c.).¹ It corresponds to book iv. 9-15 of the Latin. The story of the origin of the work is romantic. Suidas in v. says *ὅτι ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ κατενεχθείσης καὶ πολλῶν τάφων ἀνεωχθέντων εὐρέθη ἐν ἐνὶ τούτων τὸ σύνταγμα τῆς ἱστορίας Δίκτυος τὸν Τρωικὸν περιέχον πόλεμον, ὅπερ λαβὼν Κλαύδιος ἐξέδωκε γράφεσθαι*. The same story is alluded to by Malalas 250. 1, 132. 22, and told at length in the preface of the Latin version. Two points are conspicuous in the story: the coffin was found in Crete with the book in or near it, and the book was in an unknown alphabet which required transcription into Greek: *in-venerunt tilias incognitis sibi litteris conscriptas . . . haec autem cum Nero accepisset advertissetque Punicas esse litteras, harum peritos ad se vocavit, qui cum venissent . . . iussit in Graecum sermonem ista transferri*. This way of lost literature reappearing, owing to the accidental opening of a tomb or similar repository, is constant in the ancient imagination, pagan and Christian. Pythagorean books were found in Numa's tomb, Val. Max. i. 1. 12: *duabus arcis lapideis repertis quarum in altera scriptura indicabat corpus Numae Pompilii fuisse, in altera libri reconditi erant Latini septem de iure pontificum totidemque Graeci de disciplina sapientiae*; cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xiii. 86. The *τελετή τῶν Μεγάλων θεῶν* was found on a lead roll in a *ὑδρία*, Paus. iv. 26. 8; *δέλτοι χαλκαῖ* were dug up in a temple at Chalcedon, Lucian, *Pseudomantis* 217, cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 942 C *διφθέρας ἱερὰς . . . πολὺν χρόνον ἐν γῇ κειμένας ἐξευρών* (at Carthage). Acusilaus' genealogies were copied from brass plates which his father found *ὀρύξας τινα τόπον τῆς οἰκίας* (Suid. in v.). The Peripatetic corpus lay in a cellar at Scepsis, the worse for wear (Strabo 606, Plutarch, *Sulla* 26). Copies of Origen's *Hexapla* were found at

Zeitschrift, 1892, i. 131 sqq. Neither of these writers, nor Krumbacher, *Byzant. Lit.*,² 845, deals with Dictys' sources.

¹ And Allacci's prayer was fulfilled: *cum videam illius commentarios a posterioribus Graecis summo opere laudari, magna spes me tenet eos quandoque in lucem venturos*, l. c., p. 1745 Gronov.

Jericho ἐν πίθῳ (Suid. in v.); in Antonius Diogenes' *Tà ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα* (Phot. *bibl. cod.* 166, f. 111 a 20-9) dispositions are made for burying *κυπαριττίνας δέλτους πλυσίον τοῦ τάφου ἐν κιβωτίῳ*. The Apocalypse of Peter owed its discovery to a similar contingency: *λέγουσι γὰρ ἐκ θείας ἐπιφανείας ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν Παύλου μαρμαρίνην λάρνακα ὑπὸ γῆν εὐρεθῆναι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν βίβλον εἶναι*, Sozomen vii. 19. 10. Later, *ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλείῳς εὐρέθη ἐν Κύπρῳ τὸ λείψανον Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου*· ἔκειτο δ' ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ τὸ κατὰ *Ματθαῖον ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἔχον πτυχία θύινα*, Zonaras 1063. 2, Tittm. St. John's Gospel, also, if we believe an Arian, was found in a cavern under the temple at Jerusalem (Philostorgius vi. 14).¹ The story of St. Cuthbert's Gospel, now at Stonyhurst, is well known. The method of discovery, Divine Providence apart, is the plough, earthquakes, or floods: and this happened in lesser matters. The washing open of a tomb provided Galen (ii. 221 K.) with a human subject, and Philostratus often uses the expedient (*Heroic*, 288 sqq.).

As to the strange tongue, the Greeks from Herodotus (v. 58) downwards were possessed of the idea that the actual alphabet had been preceded by another, unintelligible save to the learned. They called the earlier characters Phoenician, Pelasgian, or Phrygian: cf. Diodorus, quoted p. 133, Corinnus with his *Δωρικὰ γράμματα* (p. 138). Specimens of the earlier character were occasionally found, as the inscription at Haliartus, Plutarch, *gen. Socr.* 5, that at Hypata, which the priests at Thebes interpreted (Aristotle, *mir. ausc.* 133), and what Herodotus, l. c., saw at Thebes. We, of course, now possess quantities of this character, but where are the priests?

About the age of Dictys nothing definite can be said. The quotations are few: that by Syrianus (in Hermogenem ii. 7) *ὡς Δίκτυς ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν* is later than the papyrus. The ς A on A 108 (*παρὰ Δίκτυι τῷ γράψαντι τὰ Τρωικά*)

¹ Cf. also Athanasius iv. 433 b Migne.

may be Alexandrian, with the bulk of the ς , but there are many additions besides Porphyrius to the original stock.¹ The ς on Apollonius of Rhodes i. 558 quote a passage *κατὰ λέξιν* from Lysimachus of Alexandria, who quotes Suidas, Aristoteles ὁ περὶ *Εὐβοίας πεπραγματευμένος*, and further ὁ τοὺς *Φρυγίους λόγους γράψας*, Daimachus and Dionysius of Chalcis as saying (with the exception of Daimachus) Achilles' mother was Thetis, daughter of Chiron. Dictys says this, i. 14; Dares does not. So the paraphrase ὁ τοὺς *Φρυγίους λόγους γράψας* may refer to him and signify his original character. Lysimachus' date is unknown, but among the other authors Dictys can hardly be post-Christian.²

The tone of Dictys is very Cretan, as that of Dares is Athenian. Dictys himself is brother to Idomeneus. The Pelopidae in the other accounts have a Cretan alliance in Aerope, wife of Plisthenes, father of Agamemnon and Menelaus.³ In Dictys, Atreus, father of Aerope, is son of Minos (i. 1), and the Pelopidae are called in contempt 'sons of Plisthenes'.

Ulysses tells his adventures, not to Alcinous in Phaeacia (whither he subsequently goes), but to Idomeneus in Crete.⁴ Idomeneus plays at the end of the war a greater part than

¹ The oldest collection of ς (in A B T and Eustathius) contains Quintus Smyrnaeus i. 765 at B 220, Christodorus B 461, Orion B 242 (ς B only), K 290, Nemesion K 298, Servius Φ 242 (ς B only), Soteris Δ 412, Heracleo N 107. At X 159 (ς T only), Ω 680 the writer shows Christian sentiment; at H 177, O 10, Π 636 he displays independence of judgement (e. g. *κἀγὼ δὲ συγκατατίθεμαι*). On the whole he may belong to the period of Justinian, and cannot be much later. An earlier state of these ς seems to occur in *Ἐκλογαὶ διαφόρων λέξεων an. Ox. ii. 433 sqq.* (433. 4 = ς A I 456 corrupt; 461. 16 = K 134; 463. 5 = I 449; 466. 17 = Θ 233; 472. 14 = A 116 Δ 720). These *ἐκλογαὶ* do not seem to be by Choeroboscus, and are as probably taken from the Homeric scholia in a fuller form as the scholia are from Choeroboscus.

² Philostratus and Ptolemy Hephaestionis who often coincide with him are s. ii p. c. Philostratus, however, differs as often from Dictys as he agrees with him. He is anti-Cretan, *Heroic.* 307.

³ The connexion first appears in Ibycus (?) Ox. Pap. 1790, fr. 2, col. i. 21, and Stesichorus, fr. 42.

⁴ A similar inclination towards Crete may be found in Zenodotus reading a 93, 285, and in the additions a 93 a b.

in Homer. Orestes seeks refuge in Crete. Menelaus puts in there on his way from Egypt. Idomeneus finally reconciles him and Orestes. Therefore it might be that the man of letters who put the original version of Dictys into shape was a Cretan. Cretan grammarians were Rhianus and Philemon, but, as I suggested, *J. Phil.* xxxi. 207 sqq., a more likely candidate is Antenor (*F. H. G.* iv. 305, Susemihl, *Alex. Litt.* ii. 399 m), whose *Κρητικοὶ λόγοι* are quoted by Plutarch and Aelian, and patriotism attested by Ptolemy Hephaestionis 151 b 15 (he was called *δέλτα*, which in Cretan meant *good*). Antenor perhaps gave the real version of the Tale of Troy (praef. *e quibus Troiani belli verior textus cunctis innotuit*; cf. Manasses 1112:

“Ομηρος γὰρ ὁ μελιχρὸς τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ θελξίνους
μεθόδοις χρώμενος σοφαῖς οἰκονομεῖ τοὺς λόγους,
ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ στρέφει καὶ μεταστρέφει).

The same claim is made without reserve by Dares, praef., *utrum verum magis esse existiment quod Dares Phrygius memoriae commendavit qui per id ipsum tempus vixit et militavit cum Graeci Troianos obpugnarent, anne Homero credendum qui post multos annos natus est quam bellum hoc gestum est. de qua re Athenis iudicium fuit cum pro insano haberetur quod deos cum hominibus belligerasse scripserit.*¹ Homer was not popular in Crete even in Plato's day (*Laws* 680 B). This suggestion gains if we consider the prominent part given to the Trojan Antenor in the diary. He is law-abiding, hospitable, and the friend of the Greeks. The surrender of Troy is due to him. He, and not Aeneas, remains at Troy and refounds the city (v. 17). The Cretan Antenor may have claimed descent from him, as Epicharmus did from Achilles and Andocides from Ulysses.²

¹ This story goes back to Heraclides Lembus, *F. H. G.* iii. 170, fr. 13 (s. ii A.C.).

² iii. 5 we read *Dioren et Polyxenum Alios . . . vulnerat*. As these two heroes were Eleans (B 622, 623), the use of *Alios* = Eleus is to be added to the lexica: similarly i. 17 the variant *aulide* for *elide* clearly implies

Dictys of Crete gives an account of the Trojan War and of the *Nostoi* which, while it agrees on the whole with the Cycle, varies remarkably from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. This account we must now follow. In two general respects Dictys differs from the epic account: in the elimination of the divine, and in the introduction of the romantic feminine interest.¹ Allowing for these two differences I set out the two accounts. I mark episodes in either account which do not appear in the other with square brackets, those which appear in both accounts, but in different places, with round brackets.

Dictys I. [Death of Atreus in Crete.] Menelaus resorts there to represent his brother and sister in the succession. Paris puts in at Sparta and abducts Helen. (Palamedes, Ulysses, and Menelaus are sent to Troy to demand redress.) Paris, after touching at Cyprus and sacking Sidon, arrives at Troy. [The commissioners return to Greece. The princes meet at *Argi*, *Diomedis regnum*. A list of them is given; it includes Thersander, son of Polynices, from Aetolia, Amphilochus from Argos, Demophon, and Acamas.

Proclus, *Cypria*. *Μενέλαος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκπλεῖ*. Paris carries off Helen. *προσενεχθεὶς Σιδῶνι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν*. Menelaus returns to Greece and consults Nestor, his connexion. [*ἔπειτα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίζουσιν ἐπελθόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα*. Ulysses' feigned madness detected by Palamedes.] They meet at Aulis and set sail. Anius and

alide. Dictys therefore used these forms. As we cannot suppose that the Latin version goes back to the period of Latin where such forms were normal (the Plautine age), the forms must have stood in the Greek Dictys. The passage in the papyrus shows that the book was written in ordinary Greek, but *Ἀλείος κτλ.* are often found in authors otherwise not written in Doric: e.g. Callim. epigr. 61, fr. 99.

¹ The divine element was eliminated in obedience to the late Greek historical canons. The story in Dares, *praef.* (p. 150) about the Athenians fining Homer exhibits it. In one detail Dictys represents the religious stage of the Cycle and not that of Homer: ii. 49 and v. 10 an oath is taken by walking between the parts of the divided victim.

War is decided, Agamemnon is elected commander.] Two years afterwards the forces meet *ad Aulidam Boeotiae* [and a catalogue of them is given]. (Agamemnon shoots a hind *circa lucum Dianae*: pestilence falls on the army, Agamemnon is deposed.¹ Iphigenia is apparently sacrificed but deposited with the king of Scythia *qui eo tempore aderat*.) [Agamemnon is restored.] Anius and his daughters provide provisions. The army sails.

II. The fleet makes land *ad Moesorum regionem*, and a conflict ensues with Telephus *qui tum Mysiae imperator erat*. Thersander falls, likewise Teuthranus, brother of Telephus. Peace is made, the fleet returns to Aulis. During the winter the Trojans collect reinforcements. [Diomedes travels through Greece collecting support: another meeting takes place at Argos (Achilles is indignant with Agamemnon). Another fleet of fifty sail is provided, *quibus loca hostilia incursarent*.] With Telephus and the Scythians as guides they set sail and arrive at Troy. During the landing Protesilaus and two of Priam's sons fall. The camp is formed; Cycnus, *cuius haud procul a Troia regnum*, attacks the Greeks and is killed by Achilles. To

his daughters. *ἔπειτα ἀναχθέντες Τευθρανίᾳ προσίσχουσιν καὶ ταύτην ὡς Ἴλιον ἐπόρθουν*. Thersander falls. A storm drives them back to Greece. (Achilles takes Scyros.) While they lie the second time at Aulis (*Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπὶ θήρας βαλὼν ἔλαφον ὑπερβάλλειν ἔφησε καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. μνηίσασα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἐπέσχευεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πλοῦ χειμῶνας ἐπιπέμπουσα*. Iphigenia is sacrificed and removed by Artemis to the Tauri.) They sail again [and arrive at Tenedos]. (Philoctetes is bitten by a snake.) (*Ἀχιλλεὺς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα*.) Protesilaus falls and Cycnus also. (An embassy is sent to Troy, *τὴν Ἑλλήνην καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀπαιτοῦντες. ὥς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν ἐκεῖνοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τειχομαχοῦσιν*.) *ἔπειτα τὴν χώραν ἐπεξελθόντες πορθοῦσιν καὶ τὰς περιόικους πόλεις*. [καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀχιλλεὺς

¹ 'Αντ' εὐεργεσίης Ἀγαμέμνονα δῆσαν Ἀχαιοί Libanius opp. 194, 1433.

clear the neighbourhood *decernitur uti primum finitimas Troiae civitates cum parte exercitus adeant easque omni modo incursent.* [They take first *Cycni regionem*, Neandrea, Cilla, Corone.] (Philoctetes is bitten in the temple of the Sminthian Apollo.) Diomedes and Ulysses drown Palamedes in a well. Achilles *ministras et veluti officinas belli proximas Troiae civitates ratus* sacks Lesbos, (Scyros), Hierapolis, and takes Diomedea out of Lesbos: he further raids the Cilices and takes Lyrnessus where he kills Eetion and takes away Astynome, Pedasus where Brises hangs himself and Hippodamia is taken. [Ajax overruns the Thracian Chersonese: the king Polymestor makes alliance and supplies money and corn: Ajax kills the Phrygian king Teuthrans and seizes his daughter Tecmessa.] Achilles' booty is then divided at the discretion of Nestor and Idomeneus: Astynome is given to Agamemnon, Hippodamia and Diomedea to Achilles. Ajax's booty is divided by Ulysses and Diomedes: Tecmessa is given to Ajax. (Commissioners—Ulysses, Diomedes, and Menelaus—are sent to Troy, to treat for the restoration of Helen on the basis of the restitution of Polydorus, who had been taken in Thrace. The negotiations fail.) [Polydorus is put to death. Ajax raids 'Petya', Zelea, Gargarus, Arisba, Gergitha, Scepsis, Larissa, and takes quantities of cattle from Ida.]

Ἑλένην ἐπιθυμῇ θεάσασθαι καὶ συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Θέτις. εἶτα ἀπονοστεῖν ὥρμημένους τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς κατέχει.] κᾶπειτα ἀπελαύνει τὰς Αἰνείου βόας καὶ Λυρνησὸν καὶ Πήδασον πορθεῖ καὶ συχνὰς τῶν περιουκίδων πόλεων (καὶ Τρωῖλον φονεύει). Λυκάονά τε Πάτροκλος εἰς Ἀῆμνον ἀγαγὼν ἀπεμπολᾷ καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν Βρισηΐδα γέρας λαμβάνει, Χρυσηΐδα δ' Ἀγαμέμνων. ἔπειτά ἐστι Παλαμήδους θάνατος καὶ [Διὸς βουλὴ ὅπως ἐπικουφίσῃ τοὺς Τρῶας Ἀχιλλέα τῆς συμμαχίας ἀποστήσας] (καὶ κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχισάντων).

Dictys IV. 2. Penthesilea arrives *cum magna Amazonum manu*, is killed by Achilles: the next day Memnon, son of Tithonus and Aurora, *ingentibus Indorum atque Aethiopum copiis* arrives; [he has a fleet which advances to Rhodes]. Antilochus falls. Memnon is killed by Ajax and Achilles. Polydamas is killed by Ajax. (Lycaon and Troilus fall.) [Achilles is assassinated in the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo by Deiphobus and Paris.] His funeral. Eurypylus, son of Telephus, arrives on the Trojan side. Pyrrhus arrives. Peneleus and Nereus and Eurypylus fall. Helenus goes over to the Greeks. Philoctetes kills Paris. Neoptolemus bewails Achilles. [Paris' body is restored to Oenone.] Deiphobus takes Helen to wife. [Embassy of Antenor. Ulysses and Diomedes sent to Troy.] The Palladium is removed by the help of Antenor. In return the Wooden Horse is prepared. [Terms of peace are made. The Trojan allies go away.] A part of the walls is taken down to allow the Horse to enter. The Greeks burn their tents and leave for Sigeum. At a signal

Aethiopsis. Ἀμαζὼν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται . . . καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσαν Ἀχιλλεύς. [καὶ Ἀχιλλεύς Θερσίτην ἀναιρεῖ . . . ὀνειδισθεὶς τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Πενθεσιλείᾳ λεγόμενον ἔρωτα; sails to Lesbos and καθαίρεται τοῦ φόνου.] Μέμνων ὁ Ἡοῦς υἱὸς παραγίνεται καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης Ἀντίλοχος ὑπὸ Μέμνονος ἀναιρεῖται, ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεύς Μέμνονα κτείνει. [τρεψάμενος δ' Ἀχιλλεύς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεισπεσὼν ὑπὸ Πάριδος ἀναιρεῖται καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος γενομένης ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης Αἴας ἀνελόμενος ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζει Ὀδυσσέως ἀπομαχομένου τοῖς Τρωσίν.] Funerals of Antilochus and Achilles: [περὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ὅπλων Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ Αἴαντι στάσις ἐμπίπτει]. *Ilias parva.* [The arms are awarded to Ulysses. Ajax ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖ.] Helenos is captured, Philoctetes is brought back. He kills Paris. Deiphobus marries Helen. Neoptolemus and Eurypylus arrive. The latter falls. The Wooden Horse is constructed.

given by Sinon they return and Troy is sacked. (A dispute follows over the Palladium between Ajax and Ulysses. It is awarded to Ulysses ; Ajax is found dead.) Ulysses escapes to Ismarus. Agamemnon and Menelaus, in disgrace, also retire. Antenor remains at Troy. Aeneas colonizes Curzola.

Dictys VI. Locrians and Ajax shipwrecked and destroyed [by Nauplius' machinations]. [Aegiale, Diomede's wife, prevents his return.] Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon. [Orestes is entrusted to Idomeneus.] Teucer is prevented from returning to Salamis. Menestheus returns to Athens : *Demophon atque Acamas foris manent*. [The dispossessed collect at Corinth and prepare to regain their kingdoms by force of arms. They are dissuaded by Nestor. Diomede returns Aetolia to the authority of Oeneus:] the princes are finally restored. Orestes [leaves Crete for Athens and Phocis and] avenges his father. Menelaus arrives in Crete and is informed of these events. Orestes is acquitted and absolved. Idomeneus reconciles Menelaus and Orestes, who is promised Hermione. [Ulysses puts in to Crete with two hired ships. Telamon had destroyed his own. He tells his adventures to Idomeneus] [see below]. From Crete he goes to Phaeacia. Neoptolemus arrives among the Molossi ; [sends Chrysippus and Aratus to Thessaly, who are given by Asander a *παρέκβασις* on the marriage of Peleus and

[Ulysses proceeds as a spy to Troy, is recognized by Helen.] He and Diomede convey away the Palladium. The heroes enter the Horse, the rest sail to Tenedos. The Horse is admitted, the Trojans fall to feasting. *Iliu persis*. [A serpent devours Laocoon.] Aeneas retires to Ida : Sinon gives the signal. Troy is sacked.

Nosti. Agamemnon and Menelaus fall out and part. Diomede and Nestor return safely. Menelaus is driven to Egypt. [Calchas, Leonteus, and Polypoetes found Colophon.] Ajax Locrus perishes at the Capherides. Neoptolemus retreats [by land], arrives among the Molossi [where Peleus is]. Agamemnon is killed and avenged, Menelaus

Thetis. Neoptolemus arrives at Sepias with a fleet, which he loses, but after many adventures receives his kingdom from Acastus.] [Neoptolemus relates to Dictys the story of Memnon's ashes.] Dictys consults Delphi on a plague of locusts in Crete, [Neoptolemus dies at Delphi] and Orestes obtains Hermione. Ulysses is killed by Telegonus.

returns. *Telegonia*. Burial of suitors; [parecbasis upon Trophonius and Agamedes, and on Augeas. Ulysses proceeds to the Thesprotians, and leads them against the *Βρύγοι*. His son, Polypoetes, receives the kingdom.] Ulysses returns to Ithaca and is killed by Telegonus. The rest of the family retire to live with Circe.

There is a good deal of difference between these two accounts. Dictys is longer, and this is not wonderful if we remember that Proclus' *Chrestomathia* is at best but an epitome, and an epitome on what scale we do not know; and further, that the version of it we possess is an excerpt of the epitome, and we do not know what losses it may have suffered in transmission. The oldest extant copy was written five hundred years after Proclus' death. The incidents mentioned by Proclus and omitted by Dictys are few: Nestor's and Menelaus' mission to enrol the princes, and Ulysses' feigned madness;¹ Achilles' interview with Helen at the beginning of the war; the death of Thersites and Achilles' purification; the episode of Laocoon; the foundation of Colophon; Ulysses' sojourn among the Thesproti. The dislike to the marvellous may account for the failure to mention Laocoon, and the compressed condition of book vi in Dictys for the omission of Colophon and the Thesproti. The elimination of the divine accounts for the greatest discrepancies, and not only for all the scenes in which divine personages engage, but for consequences of divine agency: e.g. as Achilles had no *ἡφαιστότευκτα ὄπλα*, the contest of Ajax and Ulysses, with the suicide of Ajax, was not over them, but for a different motive. Thetis does

¹ This is disapproved of by Philostratus, *Heroic*, 308.

not appear, and therefore Achilles is not transported to *Δευκή*, but burned and buried like Patroclus or Antilochus; in the story of Iphigenia, Artemis is weakened down to *vox quaedam luo emissa*, and the Scythian king, who traded with the Greeks, arranged for her removal. In the *Odyssey*, Hades becomes *eum locum in quo exhibitis quibusdam sacris futura defunctorum animis dinoscerentur* (vi. 5), a necromanteum.

The feminine interest appears in the Cycle, remarkably in the *Cypria* where Achilles wishes to see Helen; in general literature amours are ascribed to Achilles (Helen, Iphigenia, Medea), but intrigue as we call it, that is, the conflict of honour and passion, is post-epic and even post-tragic. Dictys admits it, and has Achilles trapped by it. Similarly, Philostratus, *Heroic.* 323; Justin Martyr, *ad Gent.* 1. Another difference between the Cycle and Dictys is that the same incidents appear in different places in the story, somewhat like the formulae in the poems which the Alexandrians marked with * and —*. These are Dictys i. 4 sqq., the dispatch of Palamedes, Ulysses, and Menelaus to Troy: this occurs in the *Cypria* after the landing in the Troad (Proclus, p. 105. 3 *διαπρεσβεύονται πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας, τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ κτήματα ἀπαιτοῦντες*). Herodotus i. 3 and Dio Prus. xi. 64 agree with Dictys. Homer *I* 205 supports there having been an embassy, but is undecisive as to time. In Dictys i. 19, during the first sojourn of the fleet at Aulis, Agamemnon shoots the sacred hind, with the well-known results. This in the *Cypria* occurred during the second winter. On the second voyage in the *Cypria* the fleet stops at Tenedos, and here Philoctetes is bitten. This accident happens in Dictys later, after the disembarkment and on the Troad. Troilus in the *Cypria* is killed in the expedition on which Achilles takes Lyrnessus and Pedasus: in Dictys Troilus is killed (iv. 9) long afterwards, after the death of Memnon. The Trojan catalogue in the *Cypria* occurs at the end of the book, in Dictys (ii. 35) during the 'Iliad'. In the *Aethiopis* the contest between

Ulysses and Ajax and the suicide of the latter is for the divine arms of Achilles; in Dictys (v. 14) the quarrel takes place after the sack of Troy, and over the Palladium.

No reason can be assigned to these transpositions, nor does one position for each event seem more natural than the other. Only, as I mentioned, the quarrel over the Palladium (in Dictys) seems a substitution for that over the arms of Achilles owing to the disappearance of Thetis and Hephaestus.

Further, in Dictys we see as it were a democratic tone, and a disposition to discount the individual and the marvellous. Elections are held and embassies are sent. Agamemnon is elected, deposed, and re-elected; chieftains who bring back booty submit it to the distribution of colleagues. Towards the end Ulysses and Diomedes go openly to Troy: Ulysses is not disguised and does not spy. The Palladium is given them by Antenor. The Wooden Horse is not hollow.

Which of these two pictures is the more original? The late Greek taste, as we see from Plutarch and Lucian, was against the supernatural¹ and the marvellous, and the whole, if we omit Plato, of Athenian literature is so democratic that we may safely ascribe the election, the deposition, and the re-election of Agamemnon (and the other popular measures) to modern taste. His throne is never in doubt in Homer, nor his authority disputed. The Greeks had forgotten what monarchy was. (Agamemnon is deposed and Palamedes made king in his stead, also in Ptol. Heph. book v, 150 b 38, who may well have taken it from the Greek Dictys.)

These differences are of tone and feeling, and are mostly due to time. The prose account was not consecrated, and resisted time and change of opinion less well than Homer. In two places, however, events are told differently in the Cycle and Dictys. In the *Cypria* we know from Hero-

¹ And this is explicitly given as a reason for preferring Dares to Homer (p. 150).

dotus ii. 117 Paris sailed from Sparta directly to Troy: in Homer he passed by Cyprus and Sidon, and so he does in Dictys. Still this case is not very good; for in Proclus' version of the *Cypria* the Homeric account is given. Homer here was too strong, and the *Cypria* must have been changed (a line would do it), we do not know when. Dictys may have found and followed the revised *Cypria*. The other event is the death of Achilles: this in Homer (X 360) is prophesied to take place at the Scaean gate at the hands of Paris and Apollo, and it is so in Arctinus. Dictys has him assassinated in the temple at Thymbra, as a result of the feminine interest. Here again Ptolemy Hephaest. (146 b 17) gave a version of the event (we are not told which) and condemned previous versions, making it plain that there were several (*ἀποφαίνεται τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐσφαλμένως τὰ περὶ τούτων ὑπολαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγράψαι*). Philostratus, *Heroicus* 321 and 323, believes in the Thymbra-version, and seems to interpret Homer's statement as of this. He makes an harmonization. The ambush in itself is probable enough; Hector and Memnon are disposed of in the same way; but the laying of the scene in the temple depends on the date of the introduction of the intrigue or woman-motive. This we do not find in Euripides, nor Helianicus (his spelling of the ethnic of Thymbra, fr. 135, proves nothing), nor Lycophron (the scholiast mistook *Alex.* 323, 4 when he saw in them a reference to this event). The earliest extant author who gives this account is Hyginus (fab. 90).

The Horse, it may be said, not hollow and not containing heroes, and serving only to breach the wall, may, if we like, be interpreted as a battering-ram, with Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 202.¹ But Medea's hollow statue of Artemis containing poison (Diod. iv. 51) resembles the Cycle and Homeric horse in essence (*παραγγέλλειν πᾶσι δέχεσθαι τὴν θεὸν εὖσεβῶς*), and for hollow animals we must remember Phalaris' bull and the Lydian horse in Philostratus, *Heroic.* 288 *ἐς γὰρ κοῖλον τὸν ἵππον θυρίδας ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ ἔχοντα*

¹ And Paus. i. 23. 8.

νεκρὸς ἀπέκειτο. Cedrenus ii. 520. 10 describes an attempt on Edessa: ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἀράβων ιβ' ἱππεῖς ἔχοντες φ' καὶ καμήλους φ' κιβώτια φερούσας χίλια ἔνδοθεν ἔχοντα δισχιλίους ὀπλίτας τὴν Ἑδεσσαν κατειλήφασι, φάσκοντες ὡς βασιλέα ἀπιέναι δῶρα κομίζοντες· ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς ἡ ὁρμή ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως εἰσαγαγεῖν τὰ κιβώτια καὶ νύκτωρ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐκβαλεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο καὶ εἰστία, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἔξωθεν διαιτᾶσθαι ἐκέλευσε. πένης δέ τις Ἀρμένιος μεταιτῶν ἔνθα ἠϋλίζοντο οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ γενόμενος ἤκουσέ τινος τῶν ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις (ἦδει γὰρ τὴν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν διάλεκτον, like Helen) διερωτῶντός τινος ὅποι πάρεισι, καὶ δραμὼν ἀπήγγειλε τῷ στρατηγῷ (who put them all to death) (A. D. 1038).

On the whole, when we compare the account of the Trojan War in the Cycle and in Dictys, we find two generic differences, due to the advance of time and the change in taste, and which may not have been present in the first state of 'Dictys'—the elimination of the divine and the introduction of the woman-interest as affecting events. Further, we find a tendency to minimize the individual's sphere, and to introduce popular or democratic conditions. The transference of certain events from one place to another seems non-significant. Speaking generally, the sequence of events and the motives are the same, the differences are due to the lapse of time. When we look at the portion of the *Tale of Troy* appropriated by Homer in the tenth century before Christ and worked into the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the account of the same events in Dictys, the relation between these two narratives is very different.

I give next an abstract of Dictys' account (ii. 28 sqq.) of the portion of the *Tale of Troy* covered by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. I need not subjoin the Homeric story.

Chryses demands back his daughter Astynome, Agamemnon's captive. She is refused him. A plague invades the Greek army, starting from the cattle. Calchas declares this to be due to Apollo's anger and that Astynome must be restored,

Agamemnon arms his men to resist this demand ; the Trojans seize this moment to attack, but are repulsed. Agamemnon yields on condition Hippodamia (daughter of Brises) shall be given to him. This is done and Achilles and his friends secede. The Trojans receive accession of allies, and a Catalogue of their forces is given. The Greeks are marshalled according to tribes, under the direction of the Athenian Menestheus. Achilles, full of revenge, purposes to attack the Greeks.¹ His attempt is foreseen and frustrated. Hector, hearing the noise, sends out Dolon to explore ; he falls into the hands of Ulysses and Diomede. A general engagement follows ; Menelaus and Paris meet in a duel ; when Menelaus is on the point of killing Paris he is struck by Pandarus with an arrow ; Pandarus after wounding several other Greeks is killed by Diomede. The Trojans retire inside their walls, the Greeks go into winter quarters. Ajax plunders Phrygia. Hector makes a surprise attack on the camp and sets light to the ships. Entreaties are made to Achilles who rejects them. Ajax lays Hector low with a stone ; the Trojans are driven back ; Ajax is entertained by Agamemnon. Rhesus arrives to reinforce the Trojans ; Diomede and Ulysses kill him in his sleep and drive off his horses. The Thracians attack the Greeks but are worsted. The Trojans obtain a truce. Philoctetes arrives from Lemnos.

An assembly of the Greeks is held and Ajax proposes that overtures be made to Achilles *nunc vel maxime cum secundis rebus Graeci et paulo ante victores non ob utilitatem sed honoris merito gratiam eius peterent*. Agamemnon assents, stating he had previously endeavoured to appease Achilles. Agamemnon in the presence of Patroclus offers conditions ; Ajax, Ulysses, and Diomede proceed to Achilles as a deputation ; after speeches Achilles yields to them and to Phoenix and Patroclus and is entertained by Agamemnon. Patroclus conducts Hippodamia back to Achilles' quarters. The winter passes under a truce ; Achilles falls in love with Polyxena, Hector demands the betrayal of the Greeks or the murder of the Atridae and Ajax as the price of her hand. The war is renewed : Hector escapes

¹ The motive for the *μῆνις* of Achilles is the same in Dictys and in Homer, not as in Philostratus, *Heroic*. 302, 311, 322 and in Manasses 1329 the death of Palamedes, though this is a ground of discontent Dictys ii. 29.

from Achilles, who is wounded in the hand by Helenus. Patroclus kills Sarpedon. The next day Patroclus is killed by Euphorbus and Hector, and mutilated. His funeral. Hector on his way to meet Penthesilea is ambushed by Achilles and killed.¹ Games are celebrated in honour of Patroclus. Priam, leaning on Polyxena, together with Andromache and her children Astyanax and Laodamas and abundant ransom, proceeds to the Greek camp, where the princes meet them. The party are taken to Achilles. Speeches are exchanged. Polyxena offers herself, and her father offers her, to Achilles. Achilles consults the other princes, who advise him to accept the ransom. Priam removes the body of Hector. Penthesilea arrives.

The difference between this account of the Quarrel and the story in our *Iliad* can escape no one. Beside the omission of the theological interest (this includes the debates in heaven, all divine assistance to the heroes, fights between the Gods, Thetis, Hephaestus and the arms) we find these main points of variation: (1) The quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles extends to their contingents and all but results in civil war. We have a state of things similar to the Crusaders' camp in the *Talisman*. (2) The Greek catalogue is omitted. It stood in Dictys where it stood in the chronicle, at the Aulis-stage, though by no means a reproduction of the anchorage. The Trojan catalogue on the other hand is found at about this point in Homer, the *Cypria*, and Dictys: and therefore may be assumed to have been here in the chronicle. Its position is accounted for by the increasing number of Asiatic reinforcements; or possibly because no general engagement was represented as having taken place before. (3) Dolon is sent to spy early in the story, and his death has no connexion with that of Rhesus. (4) After Hector sets fire to the ships Agamemnon and the host generally seek to propitiate Achilles, *territi atque improvise tumultu exsangues*, but apparently informally. (5) The nocturnal

¹ Priam's sons are thrown to the dogs (iii. 14), not only Hector.

murder of Rhesus by Ulysses and Diomedes follows Hector's repulse from the ships by Ajax, and takes place, like Hector's surprise attack in the winter, while both hosts are in quarters. This attack was apparently the reason for building the wall. (6) The formal atonement by Agamemnon and the embassy to Achilles take place when the Greek fortunes are at their height, after the massacre of the Thracians: not as in Homer, where terms are offered under the pressure of necessity. (7) Achilles' reconciliation is effected upon terms, owing to general political considerations, not, as in Homer, when the wound to his honour is forgotten in rage at Patroclus' death. Patroclus conducts the negotiation, and is not sent out at the head of the Myrmidons till afterwards. (8) Polyxena and the romantic feminine interest. Achilles has to choose between Polyxena and his honour. (9) Hector's death is effected by an ambuscade; it is no climax and occasions no heroism. (10) Priam's embassy is public, known to both Greeks and Trojans, includes women and children,¹ and gives Achilles the occasion for an Alexander-like attitude.

We have therefore in Dictys the same familiar story, the episode in the siege of Troy during which Agamemnon and Achilles were at variance, and filled with the same events; but the events are not in the same order or connexion, and the motives leading to them are different. In Homer they may be called personal, in Dictys political. What is the origin of the political version?

The usual explanation, as I gather from the articles in Smith and Pauly, is that a late writer, logographer, rhetorician, or antiquary rearranged Homer in accordance with the principles of late Greek taste, as e. g. Conon διηγ. rationalized many heroic stories. He composed a prose version of the old theme adapted to probable truth. He took out the divine, inserted the women's parts, and altered the order of events so as to exhibit their causes in the light

¹ Andromache and her children appear also in Ptol. Heph. 151 b 37.

of historical probability. This may be the truth, but there are objections to it, general and particular:

(1) It would be an all but unique feat in antiquity. The account given by Homer of the events between the quarrel over Chryseis and Briseis and the death of Hector is everywhere else sacred. It was respected (a) by the epic poets who worked up the rest of the war, Stasinus, Arctinus, Lesches, and, so far as we can see, by Hesiod and the Corinthians; (b) by the artists who gave the epic theme a new metrical dress and a new psychology to the characters, such as Stesichorus, Pindar, and the dramatists; (c) the précis writers, whether amateurs like Plato, or professionals and cyclographi such as Apollodorus, paraphrasts, and anonymi whose work survives on stone and papyrus;¹ (d) the rhetoricians who composed on the theme, Gorgias, Alcidas, Choricus.² None of these take liberties with Homer's facts. Even the late anti-Homeric literature is occupied not with denying the truth of the *Iliad* or substituting another version for it, but in championing the heroes, Palamedes, Protesilaus, Telephus, and so forth for whom there was no place in the *Iliad*, and who therefore were always in the shade. This is the bearing of Philostratus' strange work the '*Ἡρωικός*' (where this motive is stated, 292, 300). What Ptolemy Hephaestionis (or Chennus) put in his *Ἀνθόμνηπος*, a poem in 24 books, we do not know. The fragments of his *καὶνὴ ἱστορία* read by Photius relate to the portion of the *Tale of Troy* outside the fence, or insert the feminine interest into Ω. At most we

¹ Plato, *Rep.* 393 sqq.; Plutarch, *de vita et poeti Homeri* i. 6 sqq.; Dio of Prusa xi *passim*. Theognis 1123-8 has a kind of epitome of the *Odyssey*, so has Theocritus x. 51 and Max. Tyr. xxii. 1 a sqq. Tribonian paraphrased the *Catalogue*, Tryphiodorus the *παράβολαι*, Philostratus the *Shield* (Suid. in vv.): the *Odyssey*, *I. G. Sic. et Ital.* 1291. Of the Byzantines Psellos and Moschopoulos remain, Demosthenes Thrax whom Eustathius used has perished. Cf. *I. G. Sic. et Ital.* 1284-93; *periochae* ib. 1286, 7, 8.

² Gorgias: *Apologia Palamedis*, *Encomium Helenae*. Alcidas: '*Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ Παλαμῆδους*'. Choricus: *Patroclus*, *Polydamas*, *Priamus*. The genuineness of these pieces (on which I may refer to the articles in Pauly) does not affect my argument.

find that late writers, Hyginus or Philostratus, venture to disregard hints or forecasts given by Homer of events which fall outside the *Iliad*, as the manner of the death of Achilles.¹

The one attempt to rewrite Homer is contained in Dio of Prusa's eleventh oration (esp. 111 sqq.). This is a rhetorical exercise based on no new authority but on an examination of the poems themselves (11). Similarly he rewrites the Persian war (145). He virtually confesses his own account is invented (124 fin.). Dio's tone is pro-Troy. He accuses Homer of distorting the truth about the Gods and about Troy; blames his choice of subject, where he began and where he ended. He resembles in his want of historical sense a modern higher critic, in his rhetoric an Early Christian destroying the Hellenic religion.

We may therefore ask, could a late prose writer have dared to rewrite the *Iliad*? Had he done so, would not his attempt have remained a sterile paradox, like the *χωρισμός*?

(2) In particular we notice that where Dictys is dealing with events outside the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* he agrees, with some few exceptions, with the oldest tradition, that of the Cycle. With few exceptions he respects the events, and limits himself to removing heroic ethos. With the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it is quite different. He rewrites them. Why did the supposed rhetorician choose the more difficult task? Why, sparing the outlines of the Siege and the Return in general, did he attack exactly the episodes which had become quasi-canonical throughout the ancient world? We may fairly ask why, if the rhetorician set out to modernize the cause and effect of the *Iliad*, did he respect the Cycle? He treated, *ex hypothesi*, the whole of the κύκλος, from the Rape of Helen to the death of Ulysses; the only part he remodelled extensively was that contained in the Greek national poem. It is plain this is not probable.

The material differences between the version of Dictys

¹ Such variations engaged the attention of Tyrannio in a work *ὅτι διαφωνοῦσιν οἱ νεώτεροι πρὸς Ὅμηρον*, Suidas in v.

and of the Cycle are as we have seen the death of Achilles and the quarrel of Ulysses and Ajax, and both show the working of two general modernizing principles, not peculiar to Dictys: the feminine interest, in the case of Achilles, and the objection to the divine, which forbade the *ἡφαιστότευκτα ὄπλα* to exist and therefore required a new motive for Ajax's death.

Next I give Dictys' version of the *Odyssey*:

Ulysses, after the Palladium had been adjudged to him and Diomede, left Troy secretly and went to Ismarus. His ships, men, and Trojan spoils had been taken from him, apparently at Troy by Telamon in revenge for Ajax's death. From Ismarus, in hired Phoenician ships, he went to the Lotophagi, and Sicily, where he fell in with the brothers Cyclops and Laestrygon and their sons Antiphates and Polyphemus: Polyphemus pitied him and made terms. Ulysses endeavoured to carry off Arene who had fallen in love with his friend Alphenor, was expelled, passed by the Aeolian islands, Circe, and Calypso, to hell, past the Sirens, lost most of his ships and crews between Scylla and Charybdis, fell into the hands of Phoenician pirates, and with his Phoenician ships arrived at Crete, where he told his *ἀπόλογος* to Idomeneus. Idomeneus sent him on to Alcinous, king of the Phaeacians. Here he hears that Penelope is beset by thirty suitors. He induces Alcinous to go with him to Ithaca; they surprise the suitors *multo vino atque epulis repletos* and put them to death. 'Nausica' marries Telemachus; three years later Laertes dies; Telemachus' son is called Ptoliporthus.

The difference between this account and the Homeric *Odyssey* is even clearer. Dictys gives us the same framework of events; it does not appear that he invented a single one. The differences are in tone and motive. Ulysses leaves Troy under a cloud, his quarrel with Ajax, postponed till the end of Troy, accounted for his departure, some action of Telamon's for his evil plight. The giants are pragmatized; evidently Polyphemus does not live in a cave, and is not blinded. Scylla and Charybdis are tides and

rocks. That the hero came to Crete and told his *ἀπόλογος* to Idomeneus reads like a deliberate invention on the part of Dictys, since Alcinous and the Phaeacians remain in the story. The woman-interest is seen in Arene. The great difference however between Homer and Dictys is in the latter half of the story. Instead of the hero landing alone in Ithaca, his adventures as a beggar, the slowly mounting insolence of the suitors, he is accompanied in force by Alcinous and surprises the suitors over their wine. With this common framework we understand Polybius' view of Homer quoted p. 139. The chart of the wanderings was according to him unaltered, the wonders, *τέρατα*, about Polyphemus and Charybdis were the work of Homer and the local historians.

A good deal of the difference between Dictys and the *Odyssey* is accounted for by the objection to the divine, and to the marvellous which usually accompanied it; and a kind of case might be made out for the view that Dictys' account here was a modernization of the original story, seeing that here we must suppose that the *τερατῶδες* was in Ulysses' story from the beginning; else what was it that induced Homer to bestow the favour of his choice upon it? Ulysses' nostos produced no colonizing, and therefore affected no vested interest; and on the other hand contained no tragic elements like that of Agamemnon. The contrast between $\epsilon-\mu$ and the domestic life in Ithaca attracted the artist, who doubtless invented much of the latter theme. On the other hand there are two curious coincidences to be noted. Dictys, as we have seen, narrates himself in his own person Ulysses' adventures between his departure from Troy and his arrival in Crete, and in their proper chronological place at the beginning of his *Odyssey*; he says indeed that Ulysses told them to Idomeneus, but they are not given there, nor in Ulysses' mouth, by Dictys. Now modern criticism (Belzner, *Homerische Probleme* ii, 1912) has come to the conclusion that in the original version of the nostos of Ulysses, his prae-Ithacan adventures were told by the poet

in the third person, and that the chronological dislocation of them and their transference to the first person, in Ulysses' mouth, was Homer's art. Are we to suppose Dictys arriving at the same conclusion on the like grounds, that is to say critical grounds? No one will say that this is likely. It is much more likely that Dictys' source preserved the original and natural (for it is only in the *Odyssey* that the chronological order is disturbed: the *Iliad* and Cycle narrate events as they occurred) order. Again, Belzner argues that Ulysses' method of destroying the suitors was not that which we find in the *Odyssey*, by stratagem (*κρυφήδον*), but openly, *ἀμφαδόν, vi et armis*; and this is the method in Dictys.¹ But it seems almost less likely that a subsequent historian should have gutted the story of its interest to this extent, even if some of the details offended the extraordinary late Greek taste (e. g. the scene τ 33-46 where Athena lights Ulysses and Telemachus while they take down the weapons, on which the scholia remark, *δουλοπρεπὲς καὶ λίαν εὐτελὲς τὸ τῆς διανοίας· πολλῶ γὰρ ἦν ἄμεινον ἐπιδημησῶσης τῆς δαίμονος αὐτόματον ἐπιλάμψαι πολυτελὲς φῶς*). As between Homer dramatizing a plain tale and avoiding the reader's ennui by cunning disposition, and 'Dictys' breaking up the canonized story into consecutive annals, there is surely no difficulty in choosing. It may also be mentioned that the numerous raids and the extra fleet (p. 152) in Dictys correspond to the view of the *guerre d'usure* so well expounded by M. Sartiaux.

With the *Iliad* the case is stronger. The dissimilarity between the *Iliad* and Dictys is not accounted for by the omission of the divine (which plays a prominent but dispensable part in the poem), nor the introduction of the feminine interest, which within the bounds of the *Menis* produces little effect. The events themselves are different, stand in different order, and the relations of cause and effect

¹ Homer seems himself to hint at another story than that which he gives: γ 217 ἦ ὅ γε μούνος ἔων ἦ καὶ σύμπαντες Ἀχαιοί; λ 120 ἦ ἐ δόλω ἦ ἀμφαδὸν ὕβρι χαλκῶ.

are different. In particular the means by which the Menis is dissolved are unlike. The Dictyan account is more probable, and resembles what we may expect to read if ever the incident occurs in an account of the Trojan war on stone or clay; but it cannot be said that the Homeric story contains improbabilities, or anything to offend the taste of, let us say, Plutarch, and therefore it is not plain what should have tempted a rhetorician (unless he had the anti-hellenic feelings of an Asiatic like Dio) to lay hands upon so venerable a history.

On the other hand, a poet on the look out for a subject might have seen in this section of the chronicle a topic which lent itself to dramatic treatment; and this is how historical dramas are created, this is how Shakespeare dealt with Holinshed and Plutarch. Accordingly, as between the views that Dictys is a modernized Homer and Homer a dramatization of the source of Dictys, I suggest the latter as the more probable and more fruitful.

Then we must suppose that Dictys follows in his κύκλος a real tradition, a tradition coinciding with the Cycle, but non-Homeric for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In other words, the disappearance of the heroic chronicle was not complete; it remains to us in Dictys and the Cycle, and, for the episodes of the Wrath of Achilles and the Return of Ulysses, in Dictys. Our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are these two episodes as arranged by Homer out of the chronicle. The reason why Dictys is faithful to the Cyclic poets in the *Tale of Troy* at large, but deserts Homer in these two episodes, is that the Chronicle and Dictys alike represent the original chronicle: the chronicle-version of the Wrath and the *Ὀδυσσεία* no longer exist in epos because these two episodes were seized and treated by Homer.

D

The question will be raised and must be answered, what was the predecessor of the κύκλος of Antenor, by what ties was it connected with the heroic chronicle or saga, and how

does it happen that history and literature are silent about it?

The last question has not the importance that at first sight appears. When we say 'literature' we really mean relics of literature, the scanty remains of an enormous output. Such relics as have survived are partly imaginative work, plays and odes, where, especially in plays, allusion to contemporary persons, events, publications, &c., would be an anachronism, partly first-class histories, Herodotus and Thucydides, where again, though he used them, the author is forbidden by dignity and custom to name his authorities. Enough if Herodotus stops to turn a critical eye on the Homeric corpus and glance at Hecataeus, and if Thucydides confidently adduces the Hymn to Apollo, replies sometimes by inference to Herodotus and once quotes Hellanicus.

The indications that may be gleaned imply that there was once a copious literature, now perished, dealing with the heroic age. To start *a parte posteriori* at about 400 B. C., we find a quantity of extra-Homeric information about the Trojan war. Dionysius of Miletus, the cyclographer (p. 132) left *Τρωικῶν βιβλία γ', κύκλος ἱστορικὸς ἐν βιβλίοις ζ'* (Suid. in v.): among his fragments (*F. H. G.* ii, pp. 9 sqq.) 6 deals with Philoctetes, 7 with the Cyclops, 8 with Scylla, 9 with Philoctetes' nostos. Herodorus, a *μυθολόγος*, apparently contemporary with Socrates (*F. H. G.* ii. 27) in his *Πελοπεία* cannot have failed to cover the Trojan war (frr. 61 and 62 deal with Atreus and Orestes). However genealogical these works were for the most part, they necessarily touched on general history. Damastes (*F. H. G.* ii. 64 sqq.) wrote not only *περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰς Ἴλιον στρατευσαμένων βιβλία δύο*—which must have taken him far beyond Homer—but also *ἐθνῶν κατάλογον καὶ πόλεων*, a work which in the equivalent notice on Polus (ap. Suid.) is called *νεῶν κατάλογον*: fr. 2 discusses the boundaries of the Troad, fr. 3 gives an erroneous account of the position of Cyprus, 5 and 6 the 'Επειοί in Aetolia, 8 the wanderings of Aeneas. Hellanicus'

Τρωικά cover his frs. 126-46; these, preserved largely in Stephanus, are mainly geographical, and in heroic geography Hellanicus incurred Strabo's censure for his anachronism (451). He touches, however, on Trojan genealogy (126, 129, 137, 140), the fall of Troy and the Aeneadae (127, 143, 144), the first siege of Troy (136), Ulysses in Phaeacia (141), Tithonus (142). To go further back, Pherecydes deals with the origin of Thersites (frs. 82, 100), with the Palladium (fr. 101), the Ionic migration (fr. 111). Acusilaus, whose work was entitled *Γενεαλογίαι*, gave an account of the origin of the Trojan war from the Trojan side, as due to Aphrodite (fr. 26); fr. 27 he dealt with Eurypylus, son of Telephus, and united those much disputed personages, Ormenos, Pheres, and Amyntor, in one pedigree; fr. 28 concerns Menelaus' family, 29 Phaeacia, 30 the eponymi of Ithaca and Nerites. Cadmus, reputed the oldest of them all, wrote a *κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας*. It is obvious that even in these scanty quotations we have a good deal of tradition that cannot be found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and which need not have been derived from the Cycle.

It is not plain what kind of tradition of the Trojan War Herodotus contemplated. But he clearly held that the account in the *ἐποποιοί* was not correct; that is to say, that there had been a different tradition, which Homer and his successors had intentionally altered for aesthetic reasons (ii. 116 οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήην εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐς δὲ μετέθηκε αὐτόν). This comes out in the passage (ii. 116-20) where he compares the Egyptian account of two episodes in the *Tale of Troy*—the visit of Paris and Helen to Egypt on their flight, and that of Menelaus and Helen on their return. The first was implied by Homer, seeing that he makes them go to Sidon; the *Cypria* made them return direct to Troy. So there were three accounts of Paris' return:

(1) the Egyptian: he brought Helen to Egypt and was compelled to leave her there;

(2) the Homeric: he went from Sparta to Sidon, and thence to Troy, with Helen;

(3) the Cypriote: he went, with Helen, direct to Troy.

Herodotus inclines to the first, both on grounds of probability and in deference to the Egyptian authority. He therefore believed the epopoeoe found an account other than that which they gave out.¹

Was Stesichorus' celebrated palinodia (fr. 32) a return to the prae-Homeric version, given the authority of the heroine herself by the story?

One concrete case meets us. Thucydides i. 11 says φαίνονται [the Greeks] δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα [before Troy] πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία . . . περιουσίαν δ' εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἀνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥαδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον. We know from all the accounts, Homer, the Cycle, Dictys, that the Greeks carried out organized raids of the Troad and the neighbouring country; but where did Thucydides hear that they sowed and reaped? There is nothing of this in Homer, who also comparatively neglects the raiding; there is nothing in Proclus' excerpts of the Cycle nor in the quotations. Two passages have to be considered: (1) a comment in the scholia ad loc. ὦν ἡγεῖτο Ἀκάμας καὶ Ἀντίμαχος. This wears the air of a quotation, and Dares 19 has, as emended, *legatos ad Mysiam ceterisque locis mittunt, ut exercitui commeatus subportandos curent*. 26 *Palamedes Agamemnonem legatum mittit ad Thesidas Acamantem et Demophoontem quos legatos Agamemnon praefecerat ut commeatus compararent et frumentum de Mysia a Telepho acceptum subportarent*, so providing an ingenious occupation for the

¹ There is nothing apparently to support the claim of the Egyptian account to truth. As between Homer and the *Cypria*, Herodotus considers Homer the more correct. It is, however, an open question: the Cycle usually represents the real tradition. Here, however, Dictys is with Homer (Paris goes first to Cyprus, thence to Sidon where he makes war). Cf. p. 159.

Thesidae. The service is analogous, and some predecessor of Dares may be the scholiast's source. There is no mention of γεωργία. (2) Eustathius 512. 17 ἡ καὶ διότι ἐν τῷ φθάσαντι χρόνῳ τὴν Θρᾷκην ἐγεώργει ὥς τινες ἰστοροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐμφιλοχωρῶν τῷ πολέμῳ [Diomede]. No source for this statement about Diomede exists.

Now raids are common; cf. the analysis of the Cycle, Apollodorus (epit. 3. 32), Dictys ii. 13, 16 sqq., 18, 27, 41, Dares 19. Cultivation of land near Troy is only asserted by Dio Prus. xiii. 78 (οὐδ' ἂν ἐγεώργουν τὴν Χερσόνησον, ὡς ὁμολογοῦσι, εἴπερ ἐκράτουν τῆς Τρωάδος, repeating, perhaps, Thucydides) and Dictys ii. 41 *maxque bipertito campo qui reliquus non pugnae opportunus erat, utraque pars aratui insistere*. This detail, therefore, is common to Dictys (where it is more general) and Thucydides; that is to say, a statement which Thucydides found in his sources, were they Hellanicus, Pherecydes, Acusilaus, or a poem, was part of the document which eventually appears under the name of Dictys. The logographers were preceded by logographer-poets, according to the account in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 267 τὰ δὲ Ἑσιόδου μετέλλαξαν ἐς περὶ λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὐμηλὸς τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἰστοριογράφοι. There is no direct mention of any other poet than Homer on the *Iliad*. Eumelus' school was otherwise occupied. Hesiod, in his *Ἡοῖαι* and *Κατάλογοι*, touched the subject generally and at a slightly earlier period; there are some coincidences: Hesiod, fr. 69 the Sirens lay the winds; 71 Arete was sister, not niece of Alcinous; 93 Phyleus betrayed Timandra, as Aegisthus Clytemnestra; 98 Agamemnon was son of Plisthenes, not of Atreus; 109 a pedigree including Amyntor and Ormenus; 135 a different version of the story of Meleager; 96 i. 8 Megara appears in the heroic age; 96 ii. 56 apparently another motive for the Trojan war; 252 more details of the Memnon-story. A *Thesprotia* or *Thesprotis* supplied Euegammon with his *Τηλεγονία* (p. 64).

We may also mention an Italian version of the last days

of Ulysses, not agreeing with the *Thesprotis* or *Telegonia*, in Plutarch, *qu. graec.* 294 c (from Aristotle, no doubt, in the *Ἰθακησίων πολιτεία*); and ib. 174 Poltys, king of Thrace, whose alliance was sought by both Achaeans and Trojans. From a Tyrrhenian version comes the view that Ulysses was naturally sleepy, Plut. *Mor.* 27 E. Yet another Italian version of his death in Ptol. Heph. 150 a 12 (ἐξ ἁλός explained by Ἄλως Πύργοι in Tuscan, ut vid. Alsium).

Moreover, if it is safe to enter the too celebrated Lesche of Polygnotus (Paus. x. 25 sq.), but lately strewn with the slain dead, it is obvious that on its walls Polygnotus painted a great number of personages unknown to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Pausanias traces those of them that he can to the Cyclic poets, particularly Lesches, and to Stesichorus and even Archilochus; but there are many left over whom he is compelled to believe Polygnotus invented. Does a painter invent? Did Michel Angelo invent personages for the roof of the Sistina? Polygnotus took his names from the κύκλος going in his day. There seem to be no correspondences between these *ignoti* and Dictys; but in an epitome names are the first to go.

What is the source of these statements in prose and in verse?

Genealogical statements, which form the bulk of logographical literature, come no doubt from genealogies proper; similar catalogues of persons are the lists of kings, priests, priestesses, competitors at games; then there are chronological annals, the *ᾠροὶ* of the *ᾠρογράφοι* (p. 67). These naturally apply principally to the post-Olympiad period, and at best to the post-Dorian, though the 'Priestesses of Argos' carried Hellanicus well back into the heroic age. Many events may be accounted for by this genealogical and horographic method (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* i. 72 ὁ τὰς *ιερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἐκάστην πραχθέντα συναγαγών*, sc. Hellanicus), especially dates of single events, such as the era of Homer or the siege of Troy. But we cannot expect from this description of record continuous

narration of a series of occurrences in themselves trivial, such as the events of a war which according to some lasted ten years, and to all several. The *aristeiae*, quarrels, deaths, raids, &c., whether as told by Homer¹ or by Dictys, imply something more of the nature of continuous history. This I suggest—considering on the one hand the themes sung by bards in the *Odyssey*, on the other the wide belief that the Trojan war had been composed in verse by poets earlier than Homer, the considerable amount of non-Homeric information on the Trojan war and the heroic age extant in logographi, and again the survival of two formal accounts of the war in complete variance with Homer—was a verse chronicle coming down from the actual period, and which Homer and his disciples alike used (with a difference of treatment which corresponds to the difference in art between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and of importance to that between St. Paul and the Apostolic Fathers), and which eventually produced the chronicle of Dictys.

Here too may be mentioned the Eastern sources, accessible through Ctesias, Manetho, Berosus, Cephalio, Alexander Polyhistor, usually described in the Greek as βασιλικαὶ ἀναγραφαί. Whatever truth there may be in them, they can hardly but have come down from accounts independent of Homer: cf. e.g. the letter of Priam to Teutamus in Cephalio ap. Euseb. *Chron.* i. 63 Sch., and the account of Tithonus and Memnon (in the days of Teutamus twentieth from Ninus) in Diodorus ii. 22 (Memnon was ambushed and slaughtered by Θεσσαλοί, as Hector in Dictys). The story (Ptol. Heph. 151 b 29) how Achilles was killed by

¹ Philostratus, *Heroic.* 317 wonders at Homer's information about the names, families, and fate of so many heroes: τὸ γὰρ μὴ ὑποθεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν Ὅμηρον, ἀλλὰ γεγονότων τε καὶ ἀληθινῶν ἔργων ἀπαγγελίαν ποιῆσθαι μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Πρωτεσίλειος πλὴν ὀλίγων: (318) he collected local traditions on his wanderings and interrogated the shade of Ulysses. To extra-Homeric tradition may be added the mentors or μῆμονες assigned to Ulysses, Achilles, &c., in Ptolemaeus Hephaestionis *καινὴ ἱστορία* Phot. bibl. cod. 190, f. 147 a 23 sqq. Antipater of Acanthus is the authority in the case of Hector. Ptolemaeus contains a great many additions to the Homeric narrative.

Penthesilea, came to life at his mother's prayer, killed Penthesilea and returned to Hades, is perhaps of Eastern origin. It suppresses the Memnon-episode, and Thetis makes it un-Dictyan. Remarkable results have been obtained from this source by Myres and Frost, *Klio* 1914. Even in the *Iliad* a knowledge of the events and persons of the war is sometimes assumed as possessed by the reader; e.g. *A* 307 Patroclus is introduced as *Μενoitιάδης* without further explanation,

Tradition, as we have seen (pp. 130sq.), said that the *Iliad* had predecessors. The persons, Oroebantius and the rest, may represent the fact of the existence of a prae-Homeric metrical chronicle, and we may suppose that they remained in the shadow of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* till the time came when verse-logography yielded to prose. The poem, having become a prose chronicle or *κύκλος*, assisted, under whatever name, the historians and cyclographers until Antenor or another modernized it, gave it new motives, and set it afloat as a new *κύκλος* under the name of Dictys' diary.

If we do not assume it, there is nothing for it but to make the post-Homeric epic writers—Hesiod and the Cycle—take their material from oral tradition. Oral tradition at 750–700 B.C. of events which happened four or five hundred years before?

CHAPTER VIII

SCHEME OF THE *ILIAD* AND *ODYSSEY*

SINCE Homeric criticism began attempts have been made to get behind the poems as we have them, and to divine the earlier state of the narrative and the method and period of composition of the actual books by attending to personal impressions, as one reads the poems, of consistency, discrepancy, contradiction, anachronism, and also of value and inferiority, antiquity and modernity and the like; and this method, notwithstanding its patent and indeed inevitable failure—I say inevitable because no literary standard exists whereto to compare the poems, and distinctions between parts of the poems are generally a subjective illusion¹—shown by the absolutely contradictory results obtained, is being pursued to-day, mainly in the country of its origin by an ungifted, uncreative race. To add to this pile of meaningless impressions, and to say that I find good what others found bad and vice versa, would be folly, the more so on the part of one who holds that there is only the slightest connexion between a reader's impression and past facts of composition.

But if we might regard it as proved that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* arose from the selection by a great poet of these two episodes from a mass of chronicle² and their treatment on a grand scale, it looks almost as though we had a canon which without self-deception could be applied to the poems

¹ If not out-and-out blunder and oversight. See Prof. John A. Scott's chapter iv in his *Unity of Homer*, University of California Press, 1921. The so-called objective argument, namely from statistics, is dealt with in chapter iii. It is a great thing to have engaged, like Prof. Scott and Mr. Shewan, in these repulsive intellectual occupations; a greater to present the discomfiture of the whole system with such diverting humour.

² The length of the *Tale of Troy* is noticed by Homer himself: γ 113-17 no one could endure the whole story, πρὶν κεν ἀνιηθεὶς σὴν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἴκοιο.

by way of determining at least what Homer found and what he added, and what colour he gave to what he found and kept. We make the assumption that the Trojan war really took place and was carried on by human beings animated by the same intelligence and feelings as the other fighting men of Asia and the Levant who had been making war for thousands of years before them. The Greek mentality may have seen the divine at work, as the Hebrew did, but the events were as conditioned by the human and individual factors of the period as they are in any record of Assyrian or Hittite conquests or negotiations. Economic, geographical, strategic conditions determined events, and these are comparatively eternal. Individual passion and prowess must be admitted, but not as the most important determinants. We can to some extent, by taking these permanent circumstances into account, lay down what the course of the Trojan war must have been. This has been done by Professor Myres, Mr. Leaf, and M. Sartiaux. The account in Dictys is, modernisms apart, not unlike the truth. The events must have taken place more or less in this fashion and from these motives.

We have seen the account Dictys gives of the Trojan war. Let us now look at the *Iliad*. The *Iliad* in the first place is not a complete history. It is an episode, and an episode of no great importance.¹ Its importance is solely that it included the deaths of Sarpedon, Patroclus, and Hector, events without bearing on the war, and which took place during a few days in the course of the siege, the few days namely during which Agamemnon and Achilles fell out and Achilles took no part in the fighting. The episode

¹ The later writers criticized Homer for selecting an episode at all: Philostratus, *Heroic*. 302 οὐδ' ἐκεῖνα δὲ Πρωτεσίλεως ἐπαινεῖ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ὅτι λόγον ὑποθέμενος Τρωικὸν ἀποπηδᾷ τοῦ λόγου μετὰ τὸν Ἑκτορα. Dio Prus. xi. 33 ἀνάγκη ὁμολογεῖν ἢ ἀγνώμονα Ὀμηρον καὶ φαῦλον κριτὴν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥστε τὰ ἐλάττω καὶ ταπεινότερα αἰρεῖσθαι καταλιπόντα ἄλλοις τὰ μέγιστα τε καὶ σπουδαύστατα. This is the opposite of Aristotle's judgement. Plutarch (*Mor.* 1093 A) says the episode leaves the reader eager for the sequel: δακνόμενοι τὸν Πλάτωνος ἀναγιγνώσκοντες Ἀτλαντικὸν καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς Ἰλιάδος, οἷον ἱερῶν κλειομένων ἢ θεάτρων, ἐπιποθοῦντες τοῦ μύθου τὸ λειπόμενον.

was original not invented; it is in Dictys (and all the other accounts), but in Dictys it is told at natural and proportionate length.¹ Homer has given it enormous amplitude, swollen it to 15,963 lines, and as a result thrown the rest of the war into the shade. Only one or two other episodes, seized by the tragedians, are remembered. The fact of selection and treatment is clear. The method of the treatment, and the portions of the resultant poem original and invented (or altered), we next attempt to discover. Relative size and probable truth (*ὁμοία τοῖς γεγονόσιν*, Dio xi. 90) are our criteria.

A is enormously out of scale. The pros and cons of the quarrel are debated in long speeches full of ethos which became classical. The length and the ethos seem unnatural in chronicle, which cannot afford the space, and the authors of which we cannot suppose possessed of those talents which gave Homer fame and life. The divine business also, though not alien to the chronicle, was applied by Homer himself to his unimportant episode.² We cannot suppose in the chronicle the deliberate intervention of the Olympians invoked to account for the removal of each Trojan prince. Therefore book i seems entirely Homeric. Its length is unnatural in chronicle, but suitable as an introduction to an epos. The ground of the quarrel seems original. Later taste found it trivial, and saw as the reason resentment for the death of Palamedes (Philostratus, *Heroic*. 302). Book i shows us Homer at his best, or at what has always been considered his best, the portraiture of character or ethos by means of rhetoric. In this case excellence coincides with the hand of the poet.

In the second book it is different. The earlier half is devoted to getting under way the plan of Zeus, by which the sufferings of the Greeks were to pay for the wrong

¹ In the Teubner edition 113 pages are given to the war, 33 to the Menis. Even this is generous.

² For the criticism implied in the Athenian story see p. 150. It implies that the divine element was considered excessive and perhaps unoriginal.

done to Achilles. They had therefore to be induced to fight (and be beaten), though why military operations could not have taken their course without plot and rhetoric is not plain. They do so in Dictys. The superfluosness of the episode is softened by *B* 12-15, 37, which suggest precipitation. Agamemnon was induced to hope to take Troy the same day. The real cause was that Homer needed a portal for his drama. The *grandezza* of the *Διὸς βουλή* required an adequate exordium. The action is spacious and deliberate (a delay of twelve days took place, *A* 425, 493), and the deliberation enhances the importance of the moment, but the means taken to effect it are cumbrous and unnatural. Agamemnon's dream (referred to *I* 18), his consultation of the other princes (as though a crisis were imminent when there is no crisis; the nocturnal council is suitable in *K*), the assembly, for no reason, Agamemnon's extraordinary oration exhorting the Greeks to decamp (classical as a case *τῶν τὰ ἐναντία βουλομένων οἷς λέγουσιν*, *Dion. Hal. τέχν. ῥήτ.* viii. 15, ix. 4, *Heraclitus, qu. hom.* 10 calls it his *στρατηγικὴ διάπειρα*) with its alarming success, the counter-oration of Ulysses and the revulsion in the army, the incidental ethos of Thersites, also classical—all these are curious expedients to obtain the continuance of a siege which had never stopped. In Dictys much more truly the retirement of Achilles occasions no interruption. Homer took his episode perhaps from an earlier moment: Proclus, *epit. Cypri.* p. 105. 9, ed. Ox. ἀπονοστέιν ὠρμημένους τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς κατέχει. Thersites, too, underwent a similar and worse experience in the *Aethiopsis*-period, where he is not only struck but killed (see also p. 184).

However, after the martial flame has first been damped and then fanned, the army is drawn out for action. A change in formation is introduced, so unmotivated as to inspire Mr. Leaf with one of the most singular theories ever deduced from Homer; and the army is, as it were, presented to the reader in a bunch of similes.

In this first half of *B* we may perhaps admit the results the poet has attained, the importance added to the theme and the information given to the reader, and generally the pomp and circumstance with which the ways of God are justified; but we equally perceive the poverty and violence of the means adopted. They are unnatural and inorganic. They are at the same time Homeric, that is, from the poet; and therefore here excellence and the Homeric do not coincide. And, since in *A* they did coincide, apparently Homer is weaker at economy and construction than at ethos and character-painting.

Moreover, in these first 483 lines Homer found the opportunity of telling his reader where in the war he found him (295 sqq.), namely, that eight years had passed; the proportion of the hosts on either side to each other (123 sqq.). In the former passage he filches an incident from the *Cypria* sphere. He tells the reader before the battle begins the point where the tale opens in the same way as on a larger scale he tells the reader of the *Odyssey*, in four books (α - δ), where the world stands at the moment when Ulysses leaves Calypso. Somewhat similarly, *I* 330, descriptions of cooking, sacrificing, and arming are inserted, that the reader may understand heroic habits in these matters before he proceeds further. These lines were not here in the Chronicle. In *E* the Gods are exhibited fighting freely, without hindrance from Zeus; the reader is thus able to understand the meaning of his prohibition later on. The first half of *B* is therefore construction, for economy.

But the reader is not yet completely furnished. He requires to know the detail of both hosts, that he may have the various nations in a true perspective of importance, and recognize the different princes without further explanation. Accordingly the resolution of the army to continue to fight is followed by the Catalogue of Ships. These four hundred lines are the portion of the poem that has the clearest claim to be considered a record. Its

contents are, as I have endeavoured to show,¹ true and exact. To place this list here, a few lines after we have been told the war is in its ninth year, was bold; Homer endeavoured to attenuate the boldness by inserting at 360-8 Nestor's advisal of a reform in the arrangement of the contingents: namely, to divide them on a territorial or local basis. The catalogue then gives a list of these *φῶλα καὶ φρήτραι*.² It is strange, too, that this reform should have taken place at this late moment; difficult to conceive what the previous system was; and strange also that practically no further reference is made to it or to the results that Nestor promises from it. The Greeks were interested in the military organization before Troy, and the later writers ascribed competence or reforms therein either to Menestheus the Athenian or to Palamedes.³ Accordingly, Homer may well have taken a real incident from an earlier period in the war, have given it to Nestor (as Palamedes was off the stage), and utilized it to introduce his Catalogue in the place he gave to the latter.

Where he found the Catalogue one can ask but cannot say. If it occurred in the chronicle it must have occurred at the beginning, to elucidate the whole of the war, not only this portion—and in this position we find it in Dictys. Homer conveyed it to its actual place. Its scheme, however, does not apply to the war at all. As is plain the order of the nations is neither that of the armada at Aulis, nor of the naval camp at Troy; the framework is a list of Greek states in an order without reference to war or any concentration. Upon this frame are imposed the size of the contingents, the leaders' names, short pedigrees and a choice

¹ *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, Oxford, 1921: see also in this book pp. 328 sqq.

² Dictys ii. 36 'in campum progressi more militiae aciem ordinant, magistro ac praeceptore componendi Menestheo Atheniensi: ordinant autem per gentes atque regiones singulas'.

³ Palamedes: Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 202 (*Catalogue*, p. 35): Menestheus: Xenophon, *Cyneg.* i. 12, Dictys ii. 36, Philostratus, *Heroic.* 299 (see Appendix, p. 328). The Homeric expression lasted to the time of Michael VI: Psellus *Χρονογρ.* ed. Sathas, p. 191. 26 φυλοκρινεῖ τὰς τάξεις.

of towns within the country, and occasionally anecdotes. This is how, as I suggested (*Catalogue*, p. 171), Homer adapted the record for his purpose. But what was the nature of the record before it took its original place in the chronicle? The predominant quality about it is geographical; it appears to be a register or survey. It does not seem too much for imagination to suppose that the Perseidae and Pelopidae had some kind of survey or register of their country. A political system which followed that of Crete cannot have been infantile; finance must have existed.¹ The *Πελασγικὰ γράμματα* must have been archives, as we are given to understand the Cretan cylinders are. Or, as Mr. W. G. Arkwright thinks (*Catalogue*, p. 39), we have to do with a map or *portulan*, that is to say, a chart for travel and trading. The two ideas are not incompatible.

At all events it would seem that the Catalogue of Ships, appropriated by Homer from its proper place in the history of the war, was constructed on an older state-document which had no reference to the war. The Trojan Catalogue is even less the work of Homer. Its brevity, the scantiness of the paragraphs, the way that some nations, as the Mysians, hang completely in air; the absence of any assignable natural feature east of Zelea (for the Paphlagonian coast-towns are an addition of the time of Alexander²) and the admission that Miletus is Carian are out of the question in an invention of a Chian poet of the tenth century, and in complete contrast to the practice of the Lesbian and Ionian poets of the eighth. It is even stranger that Homer respected the ignorance of the heroic age. We must accept the fact that he did. Where this list came from is entirely dark. It is however, more clearly than the Greek Catalogue a chart, perhaps the chart in possession of the settlers of the *Δωδεκάνησσοι*, since Miletus is named and identified by its surroundings. The towns on the Hellespont seem to represent the extent of commerce at the moment of the

¹ Cf. the table of the Persian Empire, Herod. iii. 90 sqq.

² See *Catalogue*, 156 sqq., in this book, pp. 347 sqq.

Trojan war (the 'King of Scythia' is the commercial intermediary in Dictys ii. 8, 10, 16, 17). Why Sardis, when Tmolus, the rivers and the Gygaean lake are mentioned, is not named is a riddle. The 'Heraclidae', a semi-Greek dynasty, like the Ionian kings descendants of Glaucus (Herod. i. 147) and Telephus another Heraclid, were then reigning according to the chronology in Herodotus i. 7.

Accordingly in *B* the earlier half is invention, with incidents taken from other places. As the episode never occurred, Thersites' display cannot have really taken place at this point. Here he was beaten for abusing Agamemnon, in the *Aethiopis* he was killed for abusing Achilles.¹ Did Homer purloin a milder version of the latter incident? The second half contains two documents much older than Homer, the former considerably amplified, the latter all but without addition.

The Trojan Catalogue occurs in the same position in the *Cypria* and in Dictys. The excuse for its position is the arrival of new reinforcements (*κατάλογος τῶν τοῖς Τρωσὶ συμμαχησάντων* Proclus, *res postulare videtur eorum reges qui socii atque amici Troiae quique ob mercedem auxiliares ex diversis regionibus contracti Priamidarum imperium sequebantur edicere* Dictys ii. 35); that the earlier allies like the later, e. g. Rhesus, Penthesilea, Memnon, Eurypylus, came one after the other is conceivable. The position of the Trojan Catalogue at this point assisted Homer in moving the Greek Catalogue to the same place.

In *I* the armies meet, but the engagement is stopped by Hector's call for a duel between Menelaus and Paris. The book is taken up with this duel, into which the episode of the *Τειχοσκοπία* is fitted; and what with these occurrences and the intervention of Aphrodite at the end, it is one of the easiest and most charming books of the twenty-four. The duel, according to our notions, is very long deferred; it is

¹ He was an Aetolian, spared by Diomedes when he and his brothers put Oeneus in prison. Polygnotus painted him playing with Palamedes (Paus. x. 81. 1): this fell in the *Cypria*-period.

strange that the lover and the injured husband should have had no occasion of meeting before the ninth year of the war. But it occurs in the same place in Dictys, and was therefore possibly at the same point in the chronicle. Nothing however corresponding to the *Τειχοσκοπία* occurs elsewhere, and this episode one would certainly expect to have happened early in the war; Priam's ignorance of the appearance of the individual Greek princes is strange in this ninth year of the war, and Polydorus, who was put to death under the walls of Troy (Dictys ii. 27), shows that the two armies had already been in sight of one another. It is also strange that Helen is still unaware of the fate of her brothers, who died (*Cypria* *epit.*) immediately after her flight from Sparta. Accordingly Homer will have conveyed this episode from an earlier place in the chronicle; and the *Cypria* obediently left it out. In this book Homer is at his best; he varies the action—the principal preoccupation of a narrative poet—in an admirable manner.

A contains the machinery, divine and elaborate, of dissolving the truce and getting to war again. It contains the interesting episode of the *ἐπιπώλησις*, which displays the order of the Greek troops in the field—a consequence of the local distribution ordered in *B*—and further contains a reference to the Second Theban War by which the period of the actual war and the relation of the actual combatants to the *Ἐπίγονοι* is indicated to the reader. There is nothing in the other accounts to correspond to the *ἐπιπώλησις* (it is referred to in *I* 34 another Homer book); like the divine interference it seems a device of Homer's to spread chronicle out; advance in action is here very slow. At the end of the book methodical fighting begins, that is, apparently, unrelieved chronicle. The ease and abundance of the incidents imply the utilization of a pre-existing account. No one could have invented them with such effortless flow (e. g. Oresbius *E* 707 was on a list, he cannot be made up: so the details about Axylus *Z* 12, and many more).

The enormous scale on which Homer had treated the

events of the *Menis* could not be kept up for ever, and the reader has to pay his debt to history in *E*, the longest book of the *Iliad*, and perhaps the dullest (τοῦ ἐ τὸ μῆκος τοῖς νέοις ὀκνον φέρει says a late reader of the MS. C). It contains a quantity of continuous fighting, on the same lines as the abstract in Dictys, viz. the death of Pandarus and the *aristia* of Diomede. Contrariwise, as no one could invent such a screed of fighting, we assume that here we have chronicle; and the end of *Δ*, the beginning of *E* (38 sqq.) and of *Z* (5-36) seem to breathe the real saga. They were reproduced because the taste for them was still alive, the sense of history also alive, and in some cases vested interests claimed their place. This is not to deny the book merits. The narrative is quick and vigorous, the divine interpositions and the audacity of Diomede make it picturesque: the death of Tlepolemus is important; Aeneas is a change from perpetual Hector; Dione's melancholy tirade (382) opens a window on the past. Still on the whole it is chronicle adapted, and shows Homer under an aspect that no one will deny him, of a lively narrator.

After these nine hundred lines devoted to the chronicle and to furthering the action, Homer felt that his public had earned a reward, and after the first hundred and nine lines in *Z* inserts two episodes, the palaver between Diomede and Glaucus, and the hasty return of Hector to Troy. The former shows us heroic manners at their best and gives us the exceedingly valuable information that the Lycian dynasty was, like Telephus, half Greek.¹ A similar but much longer and less interesting palaver is that between Achilles and Aeneas *Υ* 177, full of repetitions. There is nothing about this duel in the other authors, yet we may be almost sure that Homer found the motive. The *genre* must have been in the chronicle, and the nature of the information given by Glaucus is eminently heraldic.

¹ Dictys i. 18 makes Sarpedon solicited to join the Greeks; ib. ii. 5 after the fight with Telephus Tlepolemus approaches him *fiducia cognationis*. Some of the Ionian kings were Glaucus' descendants (p. 184). The kings of Scythia also (Herod. iv. 10) were Heraclidae.

Hector's return to Troy and his meeting with his mother, Helen, and his wife and child, no familiarity can stale. They are the high-water mark of the *Iliad* and of epic art. They are by the same hand as the scene in *X*, their echo. Yet how is the episode introduced? By nothing, that is, by lines 111-15. Homer, seeing an opening for an episode, contrived it. This economy was as simple, and if we will as clumsy, as Stevenson held Scott's methods were. For, as has been observed, Hector's return to Troy is all but impossible in the action. At the actual crisis he must have stayed on the field with Aeneas, as indeed is said (*στῆν' αὐτοῦ* l. 80). The improbability is softened by Hector's haste, 101 sqq., *H* init.

Further every reader believes (and is intended to) that the parting is final, and that the next time Andromache saw Hector he was a corpse dragged round the walls. But *H* 296 sqq. he returns to Troy where a council is held.¹ Did Homer overlook this when he inserted the episode? The result compensates such negligence, which is the natural concomitant of creative art.

The action waited; *Z* does not bring it a step forward. If we look at Dictys we shall see a much more probable sequence of events. After the death of Pandarus the Trojans retire inside their walls, the Greeks go into winter quarters.² Ajax overruns Phrygia, Hector makes a surprise attack on the camp and sets fire to the ships. Entreaties are made to Achilles who rejects them. Ajax drives Hector off (*H*). There are many events and a whole winter season. The delay did not suit Homer who made everything secondary to the prompt fulfilment of his *Διὸς βουλή*. So he diverted the reader with Hector's unmotivated visit to Troy, the incidents in which perhaps occurred in a lower tone during the winter; and sure enough Dares 24 has a version in which Hector's relations conspire to keep him in Troy while the other princes sally out.

¹ His return no more is announced *P* 207. Andromache expects him *X* 448.

² This seemed natural to Heraclitus also, *qu. hom.* 9.

H follows the thread of chronicle in so far as there is an encounter between Hector and Ajax, and Ajax on his victory is entertained by Agamemnon. But whereas this takes place in ordinary fighting in Dictys, Homer arranges a formal duel, which the modern reader finds a poor diversion after Menelaus' useless tournament. Still it is to be observed that this duel is in its proper place, and its air of repetition is due to the insertion of the other one in a place (*I*) to which it does not belong. Homer indeed does not dissemble the repetition: he even alludes to the first duel (69 and 411) and shortens the formula (*H* 55, 56) to avoid repeating the whole of it from *I* 76 sqq. This is the measure of his art and of the accommodation he thought necessary—enough to produce a plausible whole. He knew the taste of his public. He contrives to present more ἦθος among the princes, and to increase our knowledge of Triphylia by Nestor's short παρέκβασις (124 sqq.). At the end the wall is built and the curious reason is given that it is to include the mound where the dead are burned. The Trojans on their side send an offer of terms, which is rejected but an armistice arranged. Lastly, Euneus the benevolent neutral sends in his cargo of wine.

These are various events crammed together. The wall¹ has given trouble to scrupulous critics, but Homer having once got it uses it and its fosse to the end (*O* 385, *Σ* 192, 215, *T* 49, *Ω* 443). How he made it up is more important. We do not find it in Dictys, perhaps it fell out in the epitome. It must have been shown to be necessary by the Trojan surprise attack in the winter. This showed the Greeks their insecurity. But as Homer left out the winter and the winter-attack, but wanted the wall (to show the Greeks' helplessness without Achilles, as that hero does not fail to observe *I* 349, 350), he assigned, as is his way, a trivial and quite insufficient reason for its construction. If you pick from events which took months to happen the

¹ Philostratus, *Heroic.* 305, in an obscure passage comments on the wall. Cf. also Dio Prus. xi. 76.

best and put them into a single day, these consequences will result.

Book Θ is perhaps the least satisfying in the *Iliad*. Its poverty of construction is evident. There is an excessive display of divine agency: e. g. (68) to provoke panic among the Greek princes; (131) Diomede and Nestor resist this panic and all but drive the Trojans to Troy like sheep; (132-6) Zeus stops this with a thunderbolt; (170) but has to repeat it three times; (198) Hera resents this, but is persuaded by Posidon; (217) Hector is on the point of firing the ships when Agamemnon, praying to Zeus, stops the rout. The heroes recover from their panic and advance; the episode of Teucer gives the reader some relief; then (335) once more Zeus puts spirit in the Trojans; again Hera and Athene pity the Greeks and prepare their car, but are called back by Iris; (470) Zeus unfolds the poet's plot, to allow Hector a free hand till Patroclus dies. Night fell upon the Trojans camping on the field. The mechanical seesaw is obvious. The poet having deserted actual fact, had to effect the Greeks' inferiority and at the same time save their credit.

Moreover the textual condition of the book is bad, as though people had seen its stop-gap character and thought themselves at liberty to improve it. Both atheteses (and omissions) and additions are numerous: for the former cf. 28-40, 73, 74, 164-6, 189, 197 a, 199 a, 231, 235, 244, 284, 371, 372, 383, 385-7, 390, 391, 410, 420-4, 458, 466-8, 475, 476, 493-6, 524, 525, 528, 535-9, 541, 557, 558; for the latter 38 a, 52 sqq., 54 sqq., 55 sqq., 65 sqq., 131 sqq., 168 a, 202 sqq., 204 a, 206 a, 216 a, 224-6, 252 sqq., 277, 547 a, 549 sqq. Most of these atheteses, omissions, and additions are formulae and other verses from different parts of the poems. They are *tibicines*. Even the simile at the end *as when in heaven the stars about the moon* is partly compounded from II 299, 300. In this respect Θ resembles the beginning of *B*, another invention of Homer's, where repetitions are above the average.

Yet the book is Homeric. It is Homer's mechanical expedient for turning the tide of fortune, which set in favour of the Greeks with Ajax's successful duel, against them. It was necessary to do so to carry out the *Διὸς βουλή* and compel the Greeks to supplicate Achilles.

At this point too there is a definite break between Homer and the story in Dictys. In Dictys the Greek fortunes were relieved by the knock-out blow which Ajax inflicted on Hector (ii. 43): as he says (44 init.) *ita Troiani paulo ante victores ubi adventu Aiacis fortuna belli mutata est versis ducibus poenas luere militiae inconsultae*. Everything goes well for the Greeks; Rhesus arrives with his army, but is killed by Diomedes and Ulysses, and the next day his force defeated. The Trojans obtain an armistice: Philoctetes returns from Lemnos; the Greeks hold an assembly where Ajax proposes that overtures be made to Achilles *nunc vel maxime cum secundis rebus Graeci et paulo ante victores non ob utilitatem sed honoris merito gratiam eius peterent*, and this is done and succeeds. A terrified, and unsuccessful, application had already been made to him at the moment when Hector fired the ships (42).

This arrangement did not suit Homer. To enhance his episode and his hero he required the Greeks to fail early in the day and in spite of rallies to fail definitely, and to be resourceless without Achilles; and their first supplication to be developed and emphasized. Hence to prepare for his book *I* he forced defeat upon them by heavenly machinery which they could not resist. Again his art is at a low level. We can only say that like other great minds he was careless and unpedantic about his means; they were good enough for his public. Then, with a reference at the end of *Θ* (510-22) intended to announce *K*, he proceeds to his *Διταί*, where we find the same gifts as in *A*, ethical rhetoric and a more romantic eloquence—

ληιστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἵφια μῆλα
κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα
ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ—

The nature of the Aeacid is unfolded (in the chronicle as elsewhere he was perhaps not over attractive), and the deputation return *re infecta*.

So much for the action ; but at this point begins Homer's material adaptation of the story, by which saga is turned into drama.

The two attempts to reconcile Achilles have always embarrassed the critics. The fact that there were two set them on the scent of their 'doublets', and as the second is comparatively passed over in Homer the second was wrong, and grave liberties had been taken in the poem round about *T*. I do not know who first saw the truth, but the exposition of Andrew Lang (*Homer and his Age*, 53 sqq., *The World of Homer*, 24 sqq.) showed me that Homer and the other accounts were right in giving two overtures. In the chronicle and everywhere the first was rejected, the second accepted and carried through, and for the reason that use and wont exacted a legal reconciliation (see Ulysses' ruling *T* 172 sqq.). What Homer did was, in order to heighten the calamities of the Greeks, to develop the first and unsuccessful embassy. More than this, while in Dictys and no doubt in fact the eventual reconciliation was effected upon terms (ἐπὶ δώρων) and after negotiation, Homer made it consequent upon Patroclus' death, when rage and grief had driven his wounded honour out of Achilles' mind and he waived everything in order to kill Hector. The death of Patroclus was the consequence of Achilles' ἄτη in rejecting the terms offered in *I*. His offence is plainly implied in the leading case of Meleager adduced by Phoenix; Phoenix points out the offence contained in refusal and the damage to his reputation (*I* 432, 604). Later, *A* 762, Achilles' mistake is again shown (to Patroclus) by contrast with Nestor's public spirit as narrated by himself. Deaf to this example he persisted, and was punished—as happened to Meleager. He held out not for the proper compensation, but for the infliction of equal pain upon Agamemnon (πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δομεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην *I* 387). By *II* 84

Achilles is apparently ready to receive terms, sufficient hurt having been done to Agamemnon. He anticipates they will be offered a second time and is only afraid that if Patroclus succeeds too well they may not be offered (as they were not in Meleager's case). His selfishness is expressed in 97-100, which however seemed too strong to both Zenodotus and Aristarchus. He expresses his regret Σ 107, is eager to waive compensation T 200, but is induced to accept it with the proper formalities.

This is how a political saga, proceeding on political lines, was turned into drama, where events follow the bidding of personal feelings. This to my mind is the essential constructive merit of the *Iliad*, the quality which distinguished Homer from his successors and made his poem, while theirs died, live.

So, by means of the ramshackle machinery of Θ, he introduced I, on the merits of which I need not dwell further. Not yet done however with his inventions, he followed up I with K. Here is another delay to the action, which had come to a standstill during I. Darkness stopped the fighting in Θ. The embassy of I and the adventures of K filled this remarkable night.¹ K does not exist in the other accounts, and §T state it was written separately by Homer and inserted into the *Iliad* by Pisistratus. Extraordinary invention! Do we suppose the century of Solon could have composed or accepted this savoury book? It provoked some writing in and about 1905 (see the *Classical Review* for that year, and Mr. Shewan's edition *The Lay of Dolon*, 1911), and some wonderful English appreciations were passed. It has nothing amusing, far less comic, about it. The Greeks saw no γέλοϊον in small clothes. Both hosts lay off their armour to survey the duel, Γ 89, 114, Priam sees Ulysses marshalling the ranks in this guise ib. 195, Teucer does not shoot in armour O 479, Antilochus takes his armour off P 698. The

¹ The duration of the night is eased if book I is invention, and in any case its apparent length is due to the series of speeches.

night-clothing is the same as in *B*. The book is on the contrary grim and bloody. It was intended once more to break the monotony of the chronicle, Homer's principal obsession, and advantage was taken of the unusual proximity of the two armies, the Trojans camping on the field, the dangers of which were noticed by Hector at the end of Θ . Either the Greeks might slip away in the night, or Troy might be entered in the absence of the army. Homer then put in this book, to which nothing corresponds in the other accounts. He did not however invent it, he pieced it together from other episodes.

Dolon, who makes his solitary appearance here in Homer, where he is sent out to spy by Hector, falls in with Diomedes and Ulysses who have been given the like mission by the Greeks, is examined by them and put to death, plays a different part in other accounts. In Dictys (ii. 37) after Achilles' attempt at civil war has been frustrated, that is immediately after his retirement, Hector *causam tumultus eorum cupidus persciscere* sent Dolon to find the reason, *isque in manus Diomedis qui eum locum cum Uliæ custodiebat devenit: ac mox ab his comprehensus refert cuncta atque occiditur*. The time of his adventure is different, and has nothing to do with Rhesus. In Dares (22) the occasion is again different: Agamemnon sends Ulysses and Diomedes to obtain a truce: *occurrit illis ex Troianis Dolon*. The truce is granted, Dolon does not die, in fact much later (39 and 40) he together with Antenor, Polydamas, and Ucalegon arrange the surrender of Troy. Therefore in all accounts he meets Ulysses and Diomedes, but neither in Dictys nor Dares does he do so at the moment in Homer, and in Dares he is not murdered by them.

Homer therefore appears, in order to compose this book, to have combined two different incidents, the meeting between Ulysses and Diomedes and Dolon, and the attack by Ulysses and Diomedes on the Thracians; and introduced the book by the same machinery as *B*, the waking of Agamemnon. The attack on Rhesus is to be found in Dictys,

rather earlier in time than the moment Homer gives it, but essentially the same incident. That is to say, having once departed from the chronicle, Homer connected two murderous incidents into one, and produced this admirable narrative. For how can we imagine the contrary?—namely that the events really happened as Homer narrates them, and that then some one cut the story into two, relegated Dolon to an early period, and made the attack on Rhesus an ordinary military manœuvre—Rhesus and his men being as Dictys suggests visible from the Greek camp? Who would have sacrificed the picturesqueness and the concentration of Homer's story for no purpose, in a matter where no late taste or historical principle was involved? Much rather we see here Homer choosing the elements of the saga where he found them and combining them for his purpose. Rhesus and his men arrived at this point in the chronicle, but their destruction was according to Dictys one of the pieces of good fortune which induced the Greeks to approach Achilles.

From this point onwards comparison between Dictys and Homer becomes difficult. Their accounts differ in volume, Dictys shrinking to a thread, Homer swelling into a series of heavy books. The cardinal difference over the reconciliation caused this. In Dictys it takes place after the destruction of the Thracians. Achilles re-enters at once into the war, and events move smoothly, with only the death of Patroclus for particular interest. Homer still held off the return of his hero: first by interposing three long books (*A, N, O*) and two shorter (*M, Ξ*), in which the Greeks were finally shown to be helpless without Achilles; then by antedating Patroclus' death, which is told in one long book (*II*), and the consequences thereof in another (*P*), and finally the divine enters the scene again in *Σ* before formal atonement is made in *T*. Heraclitus, *qu. hom.* 8, comments on the length of the day between the aristia of Agamemnon and the unarmed appearance of Achilles, which fills eight rhapsodies.

Hence between the death of Rhesus and the death of

Patroclus the two accounts have little in common, and we have to ask where Homer got all the events, typical saga-events, with which he fills these heavy books, as heavy to a collator on a Venetian afternoon as the labour itself to the Greeks *περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος*? We cannot imagine Homer to have invented the incidents.

On closer examination it will be found that the same events are for the most part implied in Dictys, if in another order. Thus, if we follow his narrative, we find most of his events also in the *Iliad*, but in a different place: iii. 4 *Diomedes . . . Pyraechmen regem Paeonum hastae ictu interficit* (*II* 287 killed by Patroclus); ib. *Idomeneus adhibito equis Merione Acamanta Thracum regem deicit* (*II* 342 killed by Meriones); 5 *Hector . . . Dioren et Polyxenum Alios*¹ . . . *vulnerat* (Diores is killed as far back as *A* 517 by Peiros; Polyxenus is not mentioned out of the Catalogue); ib. *Achilles . . . Pylaemenem Paphlagonum regem . . . fundit* (killed *E* 576 by Menelaus); 6 *Helenus . . . manum Achillis . . . sagitta transfigit* (Helenus *N* 581 sq. shoots at Menelaus with an arrow and is disabled by him. As Achilles was not on the field in Homer, Helenus could not wound him. On the other hand Dictys gets him off the scene by this expedient, and allows for Patroclus' display and death); 7 during Achilles' absence Agamemnon and the two Ajaces slaughter Trojans (this corresponds to *A*, where the absence of Achilles is due to the Menis); *Agamemnon Arsacum* (Arsacem or Assaracum?) *cum Deiopite Archemachum Laudocum et Philenorem* [*interficat*] (Arsacus and Philenor are not in Homer; Deiopites is killed by Ulysses *A* 420, in the right place; Archelochus, not Archemachus, by Ajax *Ξ* 464; Laodocus also does not occur, but Laodamas is killed by Ajax *O* 516, Laogonus *T* 547 by Achilles): ib. *Aiax Oilei et Telamonius Molium*² *Astyochum* (or *Astyemenem*) *Doryclum Hippothoum atque Hippodamanta* (*Μούλιος* is killed *II* 696 by Patroclus,

¹ On Alios = 'Ηλείους see p. 150.

² *Melium*, an emendation printed by Meister, is wrong.

Τ 472 by Achilles; Astyocheus, though a good name cl. Ἀστυόχη B 513, -εια B 658, does not occur in Homer; Ἀστυάλος is killed Z 29 by Polypoetes, Ἀστυνοος E 146 by Diomedes, Doryclus by Ajax A 489 in the right place; Hippothous P 294 by Ajax.¹ After this Patroclus fills Dictys' scene; he kills Sarpedon, and (8) drives Deiphobus off the field (in Homer Deiphobus is wounded, but by Meriones N 629), and kills his brother Gorgythion (killed Θ 302 by Teucer). Patroclus retires; the Trojans make one of the surprise attacks with which Dictys credits them, in which Arcesilaus, Schedius (O 329, 515), and Meges (fighting O 302, 520, 535 but not killed, see *Catalogue*, p. 82), and Agapenor (not after the Catalogue in Homer) fall. Patroclus is jointly killed by Euphorbus and Hector (as in Homer), and Euphorbus (as P 59) by Menelaus.

The events then in Dictys between the death of Rhesus and that of Patroclus may nearly all be found in the *Iliad*, most in the period, a few at other moments. But Homer's account is of course immensely fuller, and for the most part is annalistic. He must have found the substance somewhere; either in a source of which we know nothing, or—what is not a violent supposition—Dictys has been severely epitomized at this point, and the original was fuller. In both accounts Achilles is off the field: Homer determined this should be so for a passionate reason.²

After the death of Patroclus Homer is again much fuller than Dictys. The absence of the divine in Dictys forbids the appearance of Thetis and all the description of the ἡφαιστότευκτα ὄπλα (Σ); the previous reconciliation of

¹ Homer it is well known kills Schedius the Phocian twice, O 515 and P 306. This may be due to his adaptation of the chronicle. The chronicle killed Schedius before Patroclus' death; Homer left his death there, but forgot it when he came to the casualties which followed Patroclus' fall. The v.l. Ἀθηναίων O 516 is perhaps an attempt to conceal this contradiction.

² Greg. Naz. ep. 71 (Migne xxxvii. 137) μὴ ἀμέλει τῶν φίλων κατὰ τοὺς Ὀμηρικοὺς νεανίας, ἐν μέσῳ πολέμῳ τὰ φιλικὰ σπουδάζοντας, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτω ποικίλλει τὴνποίησιν ὁ σὸς Ὀμηρος.

Achilles dispenses with *T*. The fighting in Dictys in fact soon runs out: chapter xiv the Trojans that fall are Asius, son of Hyrtacus (*N* 387 Idomeneus), Hippothous of Larissa (killed *P* 293 by Ajax), Pylaeus of Larissa (not in Homer); Isus—Pisus in the MSS.—(killed *A* 191 by Agamemnon), and Evander (not in Homer). Guneus too is killed (in Homer he appears only in the Catalogue). Then (in Dictys xv) Hector, on his way to join Penthesilea, is ambushed in a spruit and killed. (This method of operation is found in the case of Memnon according to the 'Assyrian' version Diod. ii. 22 from Ctesias.)

Then on the Greek side the games in honour of Patroclus take place, and though we find *Ψ* long,¹ there are in Dictys many more events. Homer chose a few, and expanded at immense length the horse-race in which Antilochus cheated Menelaus. In Dictys Philoctetes, having long since returned, takes part in the archery (18). In the jump Tlepolemus (dead in Homer) takes the prize. Finally Priam, accompanied by Andromache, Astyanax, Laodamas, and leaning on Polyxena, proceeds out, meets the princes, and is by them conducted to Achilles' tent. Polyxena offers herself, and Priam, at the end, *orat uti Polyxenam suscipiat sibi que habeat* (27).

Polyxena may have been added by later feeling, as the divine, of which Homer makes such constant and sometimes (as in *Ω*) such graphic use, may have been removed from the chronicle; the rest of Dictys' account seems original, from which, sometimes in an unepitomized state, Homer selected a few incidents, sometimes altered their order, and expanded them on a very great scale.

Dictys then arranges the death of Hector, after that of Patroclus, without loss of time and by simple means. Homer, however, to exalt his hero, surrounds this period of the war with all the pomp of art; in *T* sets all the Gods to fight, in *Φ* represents Achilles *aux prises* with a river (an

¹ It is long, but it makes a gap between the grief and wailing at the end of *X* and at the beginning of *Ω*.

incident offensive to the later critics¹), from whom he is rescued by a God. Two books are spent over this; in X Hector's end is announced by Zeus, and, far from being ambushed, he is made to die for his country. The rest we have noticed: the *θρῆνοι* in X and Ω Homer invented; they are part of *ῆθος* and belong to the artist of Andromache, Briseis, and Patroclus.

The assumption that there was before Homer a chronicle of the Trojan War, out of which Homer selected a subject and developed it, seems to have given us this analysis of the *Iliad*: the poet respected the events, but narrated only representative ones; the monotony of even those that he did narrate he relieved by *παρεκβάσεις* and by elaborating the *ethos* both of the major and the minor personages; he gave the episode which he selected (and this was his reason for selecting it) a new colour by making it turn on personal and passionate motives; enhanced its importance by a constant employment of the divine; and beautified the whole by all the resources of *λέξις*, of which the abundant similes are a principal part. These qualities are those which comprise the merit of any historical poet, epic or dramatic, and may best be seen in Shakespeare's historical plays and in some of his comedies. Holinshed and the *novelle* hold the place of the Chronicle. These merits also are in sum what Aristotle detected in Homer when he said (*Poet.* 23) *καὶ ταύτῃ θεσπέσιος ἂν φανείη Ὁμηρος παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τῷ μὴδὲ τὸν πόλεμον καίπερ ἔχοντα ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπιχειρῆσαι ποιεῖν ὅλον . . . νῦν δ' ἐν μέρος ἀπολαβὼν ἐπεισοδίοις κέχρηται αὐτῶν πολλοῖς, οἷον νεῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπεισοδίοις οἷς διαλαμβάνει τὴν ποιήσιν.* His method was that recognized by Polybius as *ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων* (xii. 25. i. 1), to which authorities he added little (xxxiv. 2. 9 *μικρὰ προσμεινεῖσθαι καθάπερ καὶ τῷ Ἰλιακῷ πολέμῳ*). A test may be suggested for distinguishing books added by Homer and books taken from the chronicle. Homer's books, being the work of a poet, have a natural end; the chronicle-books

¹ e. g. Philostratus, *Her.* 822.

stop where they do, for convenience if for any reason. Like this *A*, *B*, *Γ*, *Z* are Homer-books, with a clear end; *Θ*, though a stop-gap, has an end, so has *K* and *Π*; *T* and *Τ* have not. Chronicle-books, arbitrarily divided, are *Δ*, *E* (which goes on to *Z* 236 if the Glaucus-episode is in its right place), *H*, *A*, *M*, *N*, *Ξ*, *O*: these all end nowhere. In *P* the action does not end, but goes on to *Σ* 238, where the Trojans retreat and Patroclus' body is saved. *X* is complete, and the ending is intended to contrast with the opening of *Ψ*. *Ψ* has an obvious end (he selected among the events and added details and ethos).

If it be asked why should not Dictys' account be an arrangement of Homer's, the answer is that though Homer spends 15,000 and more verses over his story of the *Iliad*, the events he actually mentions are very few; the short account in the Latin version of Dictys contains infinitely more, and Dictys spreads them over a far longer period. Thus we have, beside what we are told in Homer, at the beginning Agamemnon's arming his soldiers to resist the demand to restore Calchas' daughter, the Trojan attack and repulse; the secession of Achilles and his friends, Achilles' attack on the Greeks, and his repulse. The winter after this year: Ajax's laying waste Phrygia; Hector's surprise attack; the Greeks' destruction of Rhesus' contingent; Philoctetes' return. The next winter: the Polyxena episode; Achilles' wounding by Helenus; the much longer games (p. 197); the much longer embassy to recover Hector's body (with speeches).

Is it more probable that any one, discontented with Homer, multiplied his narrative to this point, adding an immense number of separate events from no source that we are aware of, or that Homer, starting with the ultimate original of Dictys, that is an annalistic chronicle of the war, chose a few striking events out of the whole tale and treated them at rhetorical length?

When we come to the *Odyssey*, Homer's relation to his original is so simple that no long exposition is necessary.

The *Odyssey* has two obvious characteristics, formal and internal. The sequence of the action is inverted; books α - δ are later than ι - μ , but earlier than ϵ - θ , ϵ - θ are later than ι - μ ; ι - μ also are told in the first person, α - θ and ν - ω by the poet. This inversion of time and change of person cannot be supposed to have existed in the chronicle. Moreover, ν - ω are enormously out of scale; the events of ι - μ cover several years, those of α - δ , ϵ - θ , and ν - ω a few days. In particular ν - ω is developed at immense detail, out of all proportion to the rest of the poem. Secondly, the story contains divine intervention throughout, and if we include minor divinities at every point; ι - μ contain nothing but *τέρατα*, and ϵ must be reckoned thereto, and the Phaeacians themselves are not normal. Therefore we should be inclined to infer that the original, that is the chronicle, ran on in chronological order, that the whole of the story was told by the poet; but that the *τέρατα*, that is, Circe and Calypso, Scylla and Charybdis, the Cyclops, Laestrygonians and Aeolus, and no doubt Hell, were there in the prae-Homeric saga (for, as I have suggested, p. 167, had not these adventures already been in Ulysses' story, what was it that attracted Homer in the theme?). On the other hand, the account of Ulysses' return to Ithaca and the *μνηστηροφονία* will have originally been told at much less length and on more ordinary lines; the prolonged *ἄτη* of the suitors will have been less prolonged, and Ulysses will have shown less patience and less craft. The poet aimed at producing a work of art entirely different to the *Iliad*, by inverting the order of the action, alternating the narrative between third, first, and third person, and combining four successive books of *τέρατα* with a long minute sketch of real life in Ithaca containing the wickedness and fall of the suitors. This one might infer from the two factors of an original chronicle and the actual poem, and this account of the original chronicle is in substance what we actually find in Dictys (pp. 167, 8). Dictys' modernization of the *τέρατα* cannot be doubted.

The homogeneity of the *Odyssey* has been more frequently recognized than that of the *Iliad*: for instance, Blass' acknowledgement of the merits of the work artistically is for a German remarkable. Still, as there are those who talk of a Telemacheia, it may be observed, that Telemachus' journey to Sparta serves no purpose in the story and advances nothing: it is unmotivated. The artist invented it for the purpose of diverting his reader by introducing the heroic personages Nestor, Helen, and Menelaus, and the other heroic personages of whom they give accounts. The reader is also informed by this expedient of what had happened since the fall of Troy: and with this knowledge in hand is able to follow the course of the action which starts in ϵ . The episode itself is as unmotivated as Hector's return to Troy in Z . It hails from the artist who inverted the order of the events in the story, and threw the narrative ι - μ into the first person. On a continuous reading of the whole one feels the skill implied in leaving two ends open at the end of δ —the suitors' ship and Telemachus at Sparta—and also the violent change of scene between δ and ϵ .

B. TRANSMISSION

CHAPTER IX

ADDITIONS TO THE POEMS¹

HOMER, when he had selected his two subjects, sang them at great length, compared to the poems of his followers, but not to the dimensions of many later works, in the native language of his island. They did not come down to us untouched. To assert so much would be to maintain a unique event. The one genuine Hesiodic poem commences in all MSS. with ten lines which even the Hesiodic school said were an addition: the proem to the *Aeneid* was doubted in antiquity. The Hebrew Scriptures are unique. To believe that Homer's works have been preserved as the author left them would be an act of faith. I say nothing of the language;² on this side pen-literature is peculiarly vulnerable. Even printed books change with the century. Our eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer also, underwent many silent changes and a facsimile of the original of any of them looks strange to-day. When Homer was once out of the tutelage of the Chian Homeridae his face changed in many points. Perfect participles in -ων blossomed into -ώς, the digamma faded, τ' and γ' took its place, the augment grew on in front. How simple and unintentional these changes were is plain when hēōs became εἶως and ἔως³ and κεκλήγοντας κεκληγότας. These incon-

¹ For the first draft of this chapter see C. Q. 1913, 221 sqq.

² For changes in language cf. among other works Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*, Glotta vii. 161 sqq.

³ Which they made metrical by the theory that the rough breathing lengthened (*An. Bekk.*, ii. 882 ἡ δασεία . . . τὴν βραχείαν εἰς μακρὰν ἀνάγει).

sistencies of eye and ear, and the equally simple efforts to avoid them gave the Alexandrians their linguistic occupation, here successful, here not. The Alexandrians had more to do than this. They detected, from their feeling for their own language and by induction from the whole field of their literature, which lay before them, many, usually short, additions to the volume of the poems, and the second part of their labours consisted in the marking of these additions by marginal signs, the reasons for which they gave in their commentaries. Their reasons were sometimes objective, namely the omission of certain lines in certain editions, sometimes subjective, namely the aesthetic or literary value of the lines in question.¹

In some cases we can follow them, and even out of our very limited knowledge of post-Homeric literature point to the origin of additions to Homer. I propose to classify these additions according to their assignable sources, in the hope of being able to estimate the relative effect that different periods of literature have had upon the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Hesiod.

1. A 3 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς] κεφαλὰς Ap. Rhod., cf. A 55 Hes. fr. 96. 80 παμπ]όλλας Αἶδη κεφαλὰς ἀπὸ χαλκὸν ἰάψειν.

2. A 265 Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι *bet al.* Dio Prus. lvii. 1, Paus. x. 29. 10: om. cet. νόθος ὁ στίχος οὗτος Bm 4 = Hes. Scut. 182.

3. B 507 οἷ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον] τ' ἄρνην V 13: Τάρνην qu. ap. Strab. 413 s min. Eu. Herod. περὶ παθῶν ap. E.M.: Ἀσκρην Zen. to include Hesiod's village (O.D. 640) and avoid the ambiguous Arne whose apparent initial digamma produced the *v. ll.*

4. B 527 'Οἰλῆος ταχὺς Αἶας] ὁ 'Ιλῆος τινὲς τῶν νεωτέρων

¹ The subjective criterion is brought out by Apollonius Dyscolus, a well-informed grammarian; *de syntaxi* i. 4 φαμέν δέ γε καὶ λόγους ποτε παρέλκειν πρὸς οὐδὲν συντείνοντας, εἴ γε πλείους ἀθετήσεις ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου διὰ τοιούτους τρόπους ἐγένοντο.

(Zen. N 203) codd. undecim. Ἰλέα Hes. fr. 116. 1 (with etymology ἰλεων); cf. Stesich. fr. 84.

5. B 562 οἱ τ' ἔχον Αἰγίαν] νῆσόν τ' Αἰγίαν qu. ap. Strab. 375 Eu. γρ. Bm 4. ita Hes. fr. 96. 7, Certamen 292.

6. Π 151 παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο] Ἡριδανοῖο a few MSS., Eu. Batr. 20. Hes. Theog. 338 Ἡρ. βαθυδίνην.

7. Σ 608 a-d

εν δε λιμην ετετυκτο εανου κασσιτεριοι
κλυζομεναι ικελος δοιω θανα φυσιοωντες
αργυρειοι δελφινες εφοινεον ελλοπας [ιχθυς]
τουδ υπο χαλκειοι τρεον ιχθυες αυτα[ρ επ ακταις]

p 51; cf. Hes. Scut. 207-13.

8. T 496 ἐκτιμένῃ ἐν ἄλωῃ] ἐντροχάλῳ p 9 cel q V 16 γρ. A N 4; cf. Hes. O.D. 599.

9. Ψ 299 ἄφενος] ἄφενον h; cf. Hes. O.D. 24.

10. Ω 45 γίγνεται ἢ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνεται ἡδ' ὀνίνησι ath. Ar. = Hes. O.D. 318.

11. α 1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον] πολύκροτον qu. s Ar. Nub. 260 Eu.: Hes. fr. 94. 22 υἱὸς Λαέρταο πολύκροτα μῆδεα εἰδώς.

12. α 85 νῆσον ἐς Ὠγυγίην] ὠγυλίην Antimachus; cf. Hes. fr. 70.

13. α 344, δ 726, 816, ο 80 καθ' (ἀν') Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος] νόθα ἐκείνα . . . αθ' Ἑλλ. καὶ μ. Ἀ. s I 395: περριττὸς ὁ στίχος s δ 726, ath. ο 78-85; Hes. O.D. 653 Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς.

14. α 352 ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι] αἰόντεςσι Longinus prol. ad Hephaest. c. 1 β 42 οὔτε τιν' ἀγγελίην στρατοῦ ἔκλυον] ἥιον Zen.: Hes. O.D. 213 σὺ δ' αἶε (v. l. ἀκουε).

15. δ 389 } μέτρα κελεύθου] θαλάσσης { b j L 4.
κ 539 } { d L 4; Hes. O.D. 648
μέτρα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

16. ζ 106 γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ] ἀνὰ δρία παιπαλόεντα Megaclides: Hes. O.D. 530 ἀνὰ δρία βησσηέντα.

17. ζ 297 δώματ' ἀφίχθαι] δώματα ἰχθαι Aristoph.: Hes. Theog. 481 ἱκτο.

18. ι 146 ἐσέδρακεν] ἐπέδρακεν f al.: ἐπιδέρκεται vulg. λ 16 and Hes. Theog. 760, O.D. 268.

19. κ 84 κάυπνος ἀνήρ] κάοκνος U 6 Eu.: Hes. O.D. 495 ἔνθα κάοκνος ἀνήρ.

20. λ 631 *θεῶν ἐρικύδεα τέκνα*] *ἀριδείκετα* cit. Hereas: Hes. Theog. 385 *ἀριδείκετα γείνατο τέκνα*.

21. ν 269 *νύξ δὲ μάλα δνοφερή*] *ζοφερή* Apoll. Lex., γρ. L 4: Hes. Theog. 814 *χάεος ζοφεροῖο*.

22. ρ 322 *ἀποαίνυται*] *ἀπαμείρεται* Plato, Legg. 777 A: *ἀπαμείρεται* Hes. Theog. 801, O.D. 578.

23. τ 517 *ὀξείαι μελεδῶναι*] *μελεδῶνες* *a e h k*: *μελεδῶνας* Hes. O.D. 66 (h. Apoll. 532, Herm. 447).

24. χ 233 *ἴσταο* H 3] *ἴτασο* vulg. as Hes. Scut. 449.

These are the provable cases of influence exercised on Homer by what remains to us of Hesiod: as (1) (4) (5) (11) point to recently discovered fragments there are probably other undetected coincidences. Posidonius was justified in his remark: Tzetzes, *Exeg. in Iliad.*, ed. Hermann 19. 1 ὁ μὲν σοφιστῆς Φιλόστρατος Φλαύιος . . . τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου οἶμαι μὴ ἀκηκοὺς λέγοντος [fr. ?] αὐτὸν τὸν Ἑσίοδον ὕστερον γενόμενον πολλὰ παραφθεῖραι τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐπῶν.

The Hesiodic changes consist of (a) new lines, (2) (7) (10); (b) new phrases, (13) (16); (c) quasi-synonyms, (1) (8) (11) (14) (15) (18) (19) (22), with some slight difference in meaning; (d) geographical variants, (3) (6); (e) forms, (4) (9) (17) (21) (23) (24). Apparent anachronism occurs in (3) (6) (13), cf. p. 119. Accordingly we may also ascribe to Hesiod μ 133 a *αὐτοκασιγνήτη θέτιδος λιπαροκρηδέμνον* (of Neaera); B 565 *Εὐρύπυλος* E 2 L 6 P 2 and Certamen for *Εὐρύαλος* comes from Hesiod, as 562 *νῆσον τ' Αἴγιναν* from Certamen 292 and Hesiod, fr. 96.7; the corruption of *Πηρείη* B 766 into *Πιερίη* (not complete in the first century B. C., cf. the s Pap. Ox. 1086) may have started with Hesiod, who is the first to settle the Muses at Pieria (O.D. 1); Π 857 *ἀδροτήτα* for *ἀνδροτήτα* (*ἀδροσύνη* occurs O.D. 473); very likely λ 631 as a whole which Hereas said Pisistratus added.

Most of these variants have invaded a minority of Homeric MSS., (10) is in all. Some (1) (3) (11) (13) (15) (16) (19) were adopted and patronized by critics.

Cycle.

The Cycle has all but perished: the surviving verses do not provide parallels to minority-verses in Homer. Consequently we depend on explicit statements.

1. δ 248 δέκτη] δέκτη f: δέκτην p. ὁ κυκλικὸς τὸ δέκτη ὀνοματικῶς ἀκούει ε. The Cyclicus is probably Lesches in the *Ilias Parva* (fr. xi).

2. δ 285-9 ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος τοὺς ἐ' ἀθετεῖ . . . ὁ Ἀντικλος ἐκ τοῦ κύκλου. οὐκ ἐφέροντο δὲ σχεδὸν ἐν πάσαις ε. This too, from the subject, came from Lesches, *Il. Parva* (fr. x).

These two passages are all that tradition states to have come from the Cycle. Several others may be detected as probable.

A 423 Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας] μετὰ μέμνονας qu. s AT. A tribe Memnones (-eis) is mentioned as near Meroe by Pliny, Ptolemy, Agathemerus, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and interpreted by Alexander Polyhistor. (Mr. F. Ll. Griffith tells me there is no monumental evidence for them). Μέμνονας may be an escape from the *Aethiopsis*. The Egyptians claimed Memnon: Demetrius ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον (*F. H. G.* iv. 383) said the Aethiopians going to Troy under Tithonus, when they heard of Memnon's death, cast down their crowns at Abydos. I 140 a τὴν [Ἑλένην] γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτὶς ἐγὼ δώσω ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ (qu. s A) in Agamemnon's mouth was inserted by some one who wished to deny the post-Homeric loves of Achilles and Helen at Leuce, perhaps from the *Cypria* where Agamemnon laid down the conditions of service. N 433 a b c πρὶν Ἀντηνορίδας τραφέμεν κτλ. was intended to qualify the superlative statement that Alcathous was ἀνὴρ ὄριστος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ, cf. B 674: The mention of the sons of Antenor and of Panthous (Polydamas, Euphorbus, and Hyperenor) suggests either the *Cypria* or one of the later poems. Υ 30 a b c οὐ μέντοι μοῖρ' ἔστιν ἔτι ζωοῦ Ἀχιλλῆος | Ἰλίου ἐκπέρσαι εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον κτλ. suggest

the *Cypria* or the early part of the *Aethiopis*. The list of Paphlagonian towns B 853-5, not read by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, was added, as I have argued (*Catalogue*, p. 156) from a colonial epic, that is from the Trojan catalogue in the *Cypria*. I may add that τομουροι π 403 may have come from the *Thesprotis* (p. 224 n. 1). From the force of circumstances these passages are limited to statements of fact. Whether the language of the Cycle reacted upon Homer we are not told.

Homeric Hymns.

The Hymns are extant completely, save for the earlier part of that to Dionysus. Therefore we can estimate their influence, which is remarkably slight. This is doubtless owing to their religious and unhistorical character.

1. A 484 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν,
485 νῆα μὲν οἷ γε μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἡπείροιο ἔρυσσαν
486 ὕψου ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, ὑπὸ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν.

ᾤ 53 εκ δε κ]αι αυτοι βαντ[ες επι ρηγμινι θαλασσης
ἐξ αλο]s ηπειρον δε θοη[ν ανα νη ερυσσαντο
νψου επι ψαμαθ]αι παρ[α δ ερματα μακρα τανυσσαν.

= h. Apoll. 505, 6, 7. Hefermehl, *Philol.* 1907, 192 sqq., thought the hymn (and the papyrus) gave the original text, but there is nothing to recommend the wild assertion. The case shows the occasional influence of the Hymns on a sporadic text (ᾤ 53 is s. i P.C.).

2. B 2 } ἡδυμος qu. O 6 γρ. Bm 4.
δ 793 } νήδυμος] ἡδυμος Pal. corr.
μ 311 } ἡδυμος L 4 Pal., cf. h. Herm. 241, 449.

3. B 484 Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσai] ὀλυμπιάδες βαθύκολποι Zen. οὐδέποτε δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας γυναῖκας βαθυκόλπους εἶρηκεν, ὥστε οὐδὲ τὰς Μούσας s A. Of nymphs we find the epithet h. Dem. 5, h. Aphr. 257.

4. Ξ 259 δμήτειρα] μήτειρα Zen. Aristoph. Eu. ᾤ 26 corr.: παμμήτειρα h. xxx. 1 (of Gaia).

5. Σ 312 Ἐκτορι μὲν γὰρ ἐπήνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι,
Πουλυδάμαντι δ' ἄρ' οὔ τις.

τι Epaphroditus, V 4 V 27 Vi 2. The same construction

(ἐπαινεῖν τινί τι) h. Merc. 457 according to Ruhnken's conjecture.

6. Σ 551 α καρπὸν Ἑλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου qu. s T Eu. Both adjectives unhomeric, but occur h. Dem. 54, 266.

7. Ψ 81 εὐγενέων et ἐυγενέων vulg.] εὐφενέων Aristoph. Rhian.: εὐγενέος, ἐυγενέος, εὐθ[η]γενέος A 427: εὐγενέος and εὐγενέος h. Aphr. 229.

8. β 236 κακορραφίησι νόοιο] κακοφραδίησι qu. s. The same h. Dem. 227.

9. δ 229 τῆ] τὰ R 11 T corr.: τόθι Theophr. Hist. Plant. x. 15. 1: τόθι h. Pan 25.

10. η 13 πῦρ ἀνέκαιε] πυρὰν ἔκαιε r. Πυρὰ is unhomeric; we have the same v. l. ι 251, Herod. ii. 39, vit. Hom. Suid. 115, h. Dem. 248 πυρὴ ἐνι πο]λλῇ ϑ; 287 πυρὰν ἔκαι' M.

11. θ 193 τέρματ'] βήματ' qu. J. βήματα first h. Herm. 222, 345.

12. ι 116 λάχεια] ἀλάχεια ο: ἐλάχεια Zen.

κ 509 λάχεια] ἐλάχεια f H 3 P 6 U 8 al. s Eu.

ἐλάχεια h. Apoll. 197 (p, λάχεια cet.).

13. μ 398 ἐλάσαντες] ἐλόωντες a b d l: ἐλάων h. Herm. 342.

14. σ 130 γαῖα τρέφει] γῆ ἐκτρέφει Georgides in Boiss. Anecl. i. 70: ἐκθρέψαιο h. Dem. 166.

Except (1) where we find a new version of a passage established in a papyrus of the Roman period, the effect of the Hymns is the introduction of new words (4) (6) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (14) or usages (3) (5) (13). These once (4) make their way into a papyrus, six times (5) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) into a minority of mediaeval MSS., once (7) become the vulgate; but otherwise appear as the reported reading of a critic (3) (5) (7).

S. VI.

After about 700 B. C. things change. No more new lines are traceable; new words and forms present themselves. We must remember the extant literature of the sixth century is limited to Theognis.

1. *I* 212 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάνη] πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπτατο qu. s A T, Plutarch, de fac. orb. lun. 934 B.¹ In Homer ἄνθος as a metaphor is applied to youth only: for things cf. κύματος ἄνθος Aleman 26. 3, of gold Theognis 452; ἔνθεν συρόμενος πρηστὴρ ἀμυδροῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος Orphica, fr. 291, perhaps from the Plutarchean reading.

2. Φ 351 κύπειρον] κύπαιρον the *politicae*: -αιρ- Aleman 16.

3. Φ 575 κεν ὑλαγμόν] κυνυλαγμόν Zen. Stesichorus, fr. 85.

4. Ψ 102 συμπλατάγησεν minority of MSS. ; συμπατ- vulg. Παταγεῖν appears as a *v. l.* Anaer. 6. 4, συμπαταγεῖν not till Sextus Empiricus.

5. μ 148 κατόπισθε] κατόπιν *f*: first in Theognis 280 vulg., cf. μετόπιν χ 345.

6. μ 394 τέραα] τέρεα *ef*; so Herodotus: τερέων Alcaeus 155.

7. ξ 65 ὅς οἱ πολλὰ κάμῃσι θεὸς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἀέξῃ] εὖμορφον ἀέξῃ Ar. (with ἡ οἱ for ὅς οἱ?): εὖμορφος first in Sappho 76.

8. ρ 537 κατάνεται] καταύεται *c*: καταύσεις Aleman 95 (?).

These few variants, though interesting, had no success except (4) where the later word became the vulgate. Only (1) amounts to half a line.

S. V.

1. *B* 748 Γουνεύς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας] . .] και δεκ[p 15 (s. ii p.c.): the same numeral Eur. I. A. 278, Hyginus fab. 97. It is as old as Euripides; see *Catalogue*, p. 24.

2. *I* 461 ὥς μὴ πατροφόνος μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν καλεοίμην (one of four lines first cited by Plutarch): πατροφόνος occurs first in Aeschylus, Septem 783.

3. *I* 612 καὶ ἀχέων] κιναρίζων Zen. This word too is first in Aeschylus, Septem 123.

4. *K* 275 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη] πελλδν (ἐρωδιδν) Zopyrus: first in Sophocles, fr. 111 Nauck.

5. *K* 484 ἐρυσθαίνετο] φοινίσσετο s Ar. Pax 302: φοινίσσειν first in an oracle ap. Herod. viii. 77; then in trag.

6. *A* 26 ὀρωρέχατο] ἐλειχμῶντο Aristoph.: λιχμῶμαι first

¹ Plutarch retained other uncommon readings, I 458-61, A 543, Ψ 223 a b: so did another first-century writer, Epictetus Z 493.

in Aristophanes, Wasps 1033, Peace 756; also of snakes (*ἀπολιχμῶνται* occurs Φ 123).

7. M 435 *ἀεικέα*] *ἀμεμφέα* Ar.: first in Pindar, Ol. vi. 78.

8. Ξ 398 *ὑψικόμοισι*] *ἰξοφόροισιν* Agathocles: Sophocles, fr. 369.

9. O 21 a *μύδρους δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ*] *κάββαλον* ε T Eu.: *μύδροι* first in Herod. i. 165, Aesch. Soph. Hippocr. Anaxagoras.

10. Π 234 *Σελλοί*] *Ἑλλοί* qu. Strab. 328: Pindar, fr. 59.

11. Σ 485 *ἐστεφάνωνται*] *ἐστεφάνωκε* Ar.; the active first in Pindar, Ol. xiv. 34.

12. T 87 *ἡεροφοῖτις*] *ἡ ἱροπῶτις* qu. ε T; cf. Aesch. fr. 447.

13. T 90 *θεὸς διὰ πάντα τελευτᾷ*] *θεοὺς διὰ* qu. ε A T: *τελευτᾶν* neuter first in Pindar, Ol. vii. 125.

14. Φ 259 *μάκελλαν*] *δίκελλαν* Heliodorus: *δίκελλα* first in Aesch. fr. 190.

15. Φ 347 *ἀγξηράνη*] *ἐξευαίνειν* sic Aristoph. ε T: if this is *ἐξηύαιεν* the verb occurs Herod. iv. 173.

16. Φ 424 *ἐπεισαμένη*] *ἐπερειαμένη* Dem. Ixion: *ἐπερεῖ-δεσθαι* middle first in Eur. Hec. 114.

17. X 93 *ὀρέστερος ἄνδρα μένησι*] *ὀρέστερον* the *politicae*¹ Bm 5 P 3, A L 3 corr.: *ὀρέστερος* of humans first in Eur. Troades 551.

18. X 102 *νύχθ' ὑπο τήνδ' ὀλοήν*] *ὑπο λυγαίην* E. M. 571. 22: *Λυγαῖος* first in Soph. fr. 480.

19. Ω 80 *βυσσὸν*] *βυθὸν* $g i q$: *βυθός* first in Aesch. P. V. 432.

20. β 68 *θέμιδος* h
 O 87 *θέμιδι* Bm 4 V 18 } for *θέμιστος* (-τι) { *Θέμιδος* Aesch.
P. V. 18.

21. β 98 al. *μεταμῶλια*, -*μῶνια* codd.: *μεταμῶνιος* only Pind. Ol. xii. 8.

22. β 152 *ὄσσοντο δ' ὄλεθρον*] *ἔσαντο* Rhianus (*ἔσσατο*, i. e. *ἔσσατο* ε): *ἐννυσθαι* and *ἐπιέννυσθαι* metaphorically with things Pindar, Nem. xi. 21 (*γᾶν*), Soph. O. C. 1701 (*σκότον*), 'they did on death.'

23. β 334 *ὀφέλλειεν*] *ἐπαυξήσειεν* R 7 Pal. m. 2: *ἐπαυξάνω* Empedocles 94.

¹ The *πολιτικά* contained neologisms: cf. Φ 351 *κύπαιρον* and perhaps *νήχοντο* Φ 11, besides some old forms (e. g. *ἔλκεν*, *μαχήσομαι*, *οἶνοχόει*) cf. p. 288 sq. For the Chia see p. 105.

24. γ 9 εἶθ'] ἔφθ' α: ἐφθός first Herod. ii. 77.
25. γ 82 οὐ δῆμιος] ἐκδήμιος Aristophanes U 9: ἔκδημος Thuc. i. 15, Eur. Hippol. 37.
26. δ 232 ἀνθρώπων] γρ. φαρμάκων (φαρμακευτῶν) codd., φαρμακέων Buttmann: φαρμακεύς Soph. Trach. 1140.
27. η 35 μέγ' ἐκπερώσιν] διεκπερώσιν R 9 (q): διεκπερᾶν Herod. iii. 4.
28. η 100 βωμῶν] βουνῶν qu.: first in Herod. iv. 158.
29. θ 108 θαυμανέοντες] θαῦμα νέοντες α q qu. Eu. Νέω act. is doubtful: Pindar, fr. 124 b 7 πάντες ἴσον νέομεν ψευδῇ πρὸς ἀκτάν. ἀνέθηκε νεῶν for -ν ἑών Bentley in epigr. Herod. v. 59: νησοῦντι fut. Sophron 19 (κε νέουσα M h. Dem. 395).
30. θ 437 γάστρην] γάστριν p: Aristophanes (Birds 1604).
31. { κ 31 ἐπήλυθε] ἐπέλλαβε p 7 c i j: ἐπιλαμβάνω first Herod. viii. 115.
δ 793, ν 282.
32. κ 124 πείροντες] εἴροντες Aristoph.: εἴρειν active first in Pindar, Nem. vii. 113 (ἐερμένον h. Apoll. 104).
33. { λ 197 ἐπέσπον] ἐπέσπων α l p q: ἐπισπᾶν first Herod. ii. 121.
γ 16, 184, λ 372, χ 317, ω 22.
34. λ 271 Ἐπικάστην] Ἰοκάστην k R 10 P 4 ss.: Jocasta Pherecydes, fr. 48.
35. λ 526 ἐνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες κατὰ δούριον ἵππον Ἀχαιοί Ar.: δούριος Aristoph. Birds 1128.
36. λ 539 κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν] κατὰ σφοδελὸν qu.: σφοδελός Aristophanes, fr. 674 Kock.
37. λ 580 ἔλκησε] εἴλκυ(σ)ε r al.: εἴλκυσα first Pindar, Nem. vii. 151.
38. ν 293 δόλαν ἄτ'] δόλων ἄτερ qu.: ἄτερ post-positive first Pindar, Pyth. v. 102.
39. ξ 24 ἐυχροές] ἐύχροον f i o: εὐχροος first in Hippocr. Aph. 1247.
40. ξ 522 ἐννυσθαι] εἵνυσθαι Rhianus, Aristophanes: ἐπέινυσθαι Herod. iv. 64.
41. ξ 530 νάκην] νάκος s Theoc. v. 2: νάκος Pindar, Pyth. iv. 121.
42. π 331 ἀποπλείειν] ποτιπλείειν e f i: προσπλέων Herod. ii. 5.

43. ρ 32 καστορνῦσα] καστρων(ν)ῦσα *adlq*: κατέστρωντο Herod. ix. 76.

44. ρ 286 ἀποκρύψαι] ἀποπλήσαι Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 2. 12: ἀποπίμπλημι first Herod. vii. 29.

45. σ 345 ἀτέλεστα] ἀτέλευτα *dl*: Aeschylus, Ag. 1451.

46. υ 23 πείση] πειθοῖ U 6: πειθῶ in this sense first Aesch. P. V. 172.

47. χ 345 μετόπισθ'] μετόπιν O: first Soph. Phil. 1189, cf. μ 148.

48. χ 347 οἴμας] ὁμφάς Max. Tyr. xvi. 5: plural first in Pindar, Nem. x. 63.

49. χ 451 ἐπισπέρχων] ἐπιστείχων *egj*: Pindar, Isthm. vi. 21: ἐπιστείλων *a*: ἐπιστέλλω Aesch. Eum. 205.

50. ω 77 μίγδα] μίγμα *j* H 3: Anaxag. and Emped. ap. Ar. Phys. i. 4. 2.

51. ω 229 ραπτὰς] γραπτὰς *d*: γραπτός Achaeus, fr. 18. 3.

52. ω 530 φωνῇ] κραγῇ U 5 ss.: κραυγή Teleclides, fr. 35.

In this long list (1) provides a variant of fact: the rest furnish either new words or new usages (11) (13) (17) (20) (38).

In (1) the variant appears in two authors and one papyrus, in (2) in Plutarch; it has been accepted or invented by a critic (3) (4) (6) (7) (8) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (22) (25) (28) (32) (35) (36) (38) (40); it has gained a minority of MSS. (19) (20) (21) (23) (24) (27) (29) (30) (31) (33) (34) (37) (39) (42) (43) (45) (46) (47) (49) (50) (51) (52); the *politicae* contained (17).

The escapes into the MSS. are excusable though significant; the conjectures or acceptances of critics show how slight a historical sense the Greeks had of language.

S. IV.

Here there is very little result. Nearly all fourth-century literature has perished, and the Attic Orators and Plato cannot be expected to exercise much influence on Homer's text.¹ The variants resemble those of s.v.

¹ Plato and Aeschines quote Homer with important variants; e.g. © 548, 550-2, Ω 12 Plato, and several lines omitted (1311, π 110, υ 354):

1. Ξ 56 ἄρρηκτον] ἄρρατον s T: ἄρρατος Plato, Cratyl. 407 D, Rep. 535 c.
2. β 421 ἀκραῇ] εὐκραῇ a P 2 qu. Eu.: εὐκραῆς Aristotle, Meteor. i. 14. 10.
3. κ 124 πείροντες] σπαίροντες qu. s J uv.: σπαίρειν Aristotle, π. ἀναπν. 471 a 30.
4. λ 583 προσέπλαζε] προσέκλυζε Sext. Empir. 407. 111: προσκλύζειν Xen. Cyr. vi. 2. 22.
5. ν 14 ἀνδρακάς] ἄνδρα κάτ' qu.: κατ' ἄνδρα Isocr. 271 A.
6. φ 146 μυχοίτατος] μυχαίτατος d f CP 1 Eu.: Aristotle, de Mundo 3. 10.

Alexandrian.

1. Γ 338 a ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὥμοισιν βάλετ' ἀσπίδα τερσανόεσσαν Zen.: τερσαίνω except in Π 529 is Alexandrian.
2. Z 155 Βελλεροφόντην] Ἑλλεροφόντην Zen.: ἔλλερος Callim. fr. 434.
3. Η 127 μ' εἰρόμενος] μειρόμενος Zen.: μέιρονται Nicander, Ther. 402.
4. Θ 441 ἀμβωμοῖσι] ἀμβώνεσσι Diogenes: ἄμβων in this sense Callimachus, Aetia 34 (Ox. pap. 1011).
5. Δ 603 ὁ δὲ κλισίθην ἀκούσας] ἐκίνησεν το [καρηνον p 39: κάρηνον sing. = κεφαλὴ is mostly Alexandrian (h. Hom. viii. 12, xxviii. 8, both late).
6. Δ 604 λινπανε[s p 39. Λιμπάνω and compounds are mainly (in verse always) Alexandrian (λιμπ. Hippocr., καταλ. Hippocr., Thuc., Antiphon).
7. Δ 756 ὄφρ'] μέσφ' Strabo. With verb Alex.
τ 223 ἐξ οὖ] μέσφ' ὅτε e j k.
ω 310 ἐξ οὖ] μέσφ' ὅτε g.
8. Π 642 περιγλαγέας { ἐνγλαγέας Athen. 495 c: Ni-
cander, Ther. 617.
πολυγλαγέας Apoll. lex.; Aratus
1000.
9. T 87 ἡεροφοῖτις] εἰαροπῶτις qu.: εἶαρ = blood in Alex.

Aeschines has new versions of Σ 97, 99, 333, Ψ 77 (where he coincides with the *politicae*). Their variants have not affected the text, whether the papyrus-text or later.

10. T 421 κέχυντ' ἀχλὺς] κέχυντο χλοός p 9 h U 10 V 16: χλοός Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1216.

11. Φ 252 αἰετοῦ οἶματ' ἔχων] ὄμματ' Philetas: in this usage perhaps Alexandrian, cf. ὅσσε ἀνακτος v. l. A 610.

12. X 325 λαυκανίην, -ίης] λευκανίης, -ίην codd. plures: λευκανίη Apoll. Rhod. iv. 18.

13. Ψ 420 ῥωχμός] ῥωγμός Herodian, Apoll. lex. L 2 N 4 corr.: ῥωγμός Bion, fr. 15.

14. δ 1 κητώεσσαν] καιετάεσσαν Zen.: καιετάεντος ἀπ' Εὐρώταο Callim. fr. 224.

15. ε 72 ἴου] σίου Ptol. Euerg., s Theocr. v. 125, L 5: σίου Theocr. l. c.

16. ε 281 ὡς ὅτε ρινὸν] ἐρινὸν Ar. M 3 R 6: ἐρινόν Theophrast. H. P. ii. 81.

ἐρινὸς q R 2: ἐρινός Nicander, Alex. 319.

17. ε 481 ἐπαμοιβαδὺς] ἐπαμοιβαδόν Herodian: ἀμοιβαδόν Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1226.

18. ζ 45 ἐπιδέδρομεν] ἀναδέδρομεν Aristotle, de Mundo 400 a 14: ἀνατρέχειν Callim. Lav. Pall. 27.

19. ζ 201 διερὸς] δυερὸς Callistratus, P 6 ss.: Kaibel, Ep. Gr. 153. 2 (?).

20. η 197 κατὰ Κλωθῆς τε] κατακλώσθεσθε R 14, κατακλώθησι Eu.: κατακλώσθαι Lycophron 145.

21. κ 87 λιμένα κλυτὸν] λιμέν' ἄκλυτον Megaclides: ἄκλυτος Kaibel, Ep. Gr. 1046. 91.

22. λ 16 καταδέρκεται] ἐπιλάμπεται Strabo 6: Apoll. Rhod. ii. 290.

23. μ 252 εἶδατα] δείλατα Callistratus: δείλαρ Callim. fr. 458.

24. ν 346 τανύφυλλος] μανόφυλλος Zen.: the word Theophr. H. P. viii. 6. 3.

25. ξ 12 μέλαν δρυός] μελάνδρυνον Crates: Theophr. H. P. i. 6. 2.

26. ξ 407 ἔνδον] ἔνδοι U 2: ἔνδοι Theocr. xv. 1, 55, 77.

27. ξ 530 ἐντρεφέος] ὀριτρόφου s Theocr. v. 2: ὀριτρεφής Apoll. Rhod. ii. 34: ὀρίτροφος Oppian i. 12.

28. ο 506 ὁδοιπόριον] ἐπιδόρπιον P 3: Theocr. xiii. 36.

29. π 403 θέμιστες] τομοῦροι qu. ap. Strab. 328, 329: τόμουρε Lycophron 223.

30. ρ 221 θλίψεται] φλίψεται *ad fklr*: Theocr. xv. 76.
31. ρ 231 ἀμφὶ κάρη] ἀμφικαρῇ Ptol. Ascal.: the word Nicander, Ther. 812.
32. σ 79 βουγαίε] βουκαίε *qu.*: βουκαῖος Theocr. x. 1.
33. σ 256 ἐπέσσευεν] ἐπέγχευεν *a d*: ἐπεγχεύῃσι Nicander, fr. 72. 6.
34. τ 72 δὴ ῥυπόω] οὐ λιπόω *o*: λιπόωντα Callim. fr. 141.
35. φ 306 ἐπητύος] ἐπητέως Ar.: ἐπητέες Apoll. Rhod. ii. 987.
36. ψ 193 λιθάδεσσι] λιθάκεσσι *b c d f k*: Aratus 1112.
37. ω 227 ῥυπόωντα] ῥυπόεντα *g*: Nicander, Alex. 469.

The influence exercised by these variants in the actual text is small; except (5) (6) (7) (10) (12) (13) (15) (16) (21) (26) (28) (30) (33) (34) (36) (37) the text is untouched by them, and most of these cases affect but one or two MSS. On the other hand, the attempt to introduce the various words shows an even greater want of historical knowledge of the Greek language than in the fifth and fourth centuries; and this of professional scholars such as Zenodotus, Crates, and Callistratus is remarkable. The Alexandrians, whatever their other merits, knew as little about the language of Chios in the ninth century as our eighteenth-century critics did of Chaucer. Even Aristarchus as we know had no conception of a digamma in Homer: and his contemporaries endeavoured to palm off on Homer the same extraordinary jargon that they affected in their own works; cf. ἄμβων (4), εἰαροπῶτις (9), καιετᾶεσσαν (14), σίου (15), δείλατα (23), μανόφυλλος (24), τομοῦροι (29), βουκαίε (32).

Post-Alexandrian.

1. I 571 ἱεροφοῖτις] ἱεροφοῖτις *in v. l. A*: ἱεροφοιτᾶν Ptol. Tetrabibl. 158. 20.
2. A 809 ἀντεβόλησε] ἀντεμόλησεν *¶ 5* (s. ii A. C.). Apoll. Lex. ἀντιβολῆσαι συναντῆσαι, συντυχεῖν, καὶ ἔστιν οἶον ἀντιμολῆσαι. ἀντιμολεῖν μολοῦντες μολήσας in very late poets, v. Steph.
3. T 307 Τρώεσσιν] πάντεσσιν Strabo 608 § A T: presumably in the Roman interest.

4. Φ 271 ὑπέρεπτε] ὑπέριπτε *h* U 16 V 10: ὑπέρριψαν Philo de Ebriet. 122.

5. Ψ 300 ἰσχανώσαν] ἰχανώσαν *p* 9 A D Le¹ v. 1. Ge.

θ 288 ἰσχανών] ἰχανών *j*: ἰχανᾶσθ' Herond. 7. 26: ἰχανῶσο Babrius 77. 2.

6. α 329 α ἐξ ποσὶν ἐκβεβαυῖα τριδάκτυλος ἐξεφάνθη Pal. V 1, U 5 mg. = Julian, fr. 4 Hertlein, 169 Bidez et Cumont.

7. κ 515 ποταμῶν ἐριδούπων] ἐριμύκων γρ. U 5: in Homer and Hesiod of cattle, ἐρίμκος ὀλολυγῇ Anth. Pal. vi. 219.

8. λ 98 ἐγκατέπηξ' ἐγκατέθηξ' ο: καταθήγω Anth. Pal. vi. 303.

9. λ 134 ἐξ ἀλδς] ἕξαλος P 3 Eu.

ψ 281 ἐξ ἀλδς] ἕξαλος γρ. V 4: Polybius xvi. 3. 8.

10. λ 245 παρθεῖνῃν ζώνην] παρθενικὴν *dek*: παρθενικός as a real adjective first in Plutarch, comp. Lycurg. Num. 3.

11. λ 476 ἀφραδέες] ἀδρανέες γρ. T: ἀδρανῆς Babrius 25. 3.

12. μ 259 ἐξερεείνων] ἐξαλαεείνων *h*: ἐξαλαεῖναι Oppian v. 398.

13. ν 183 περίμηκες] πολύμηκες H 1, γρ. R 7: πολυμήκη Synesius, Enc. calv. 73 D.

14. ο 451 ἄμα τροχόντα] ὁμοτροχόντα Eu.: ὁμοτροχάων Manetho, Apotelesm. vi. 527.

15. π 165 τεῖχίον] θρίγκιον γρ. U 5: Lucian, Gallus 22.

16. π 357 κιχῆναι|κιχῆσαι *g*: ἐκίχησα Oppian v. 116.

17. ρ 267 θριγκοῖσι] θριγγοῖσι *d* C: θριγγὸς Paus. i. 42. 7 ['L'].

18. σ 57 ἀτασθάλλων] ἀτασθαλέων *h*: ἀτασθαλέω Nonnus, Paraph. evang. Ioann. 9. 16.

19. τ 319 εὐ θαλπιών] εὐθαλπιών U 2 Eu.: εὐθαλπῆς Quintus iv. 44.

20. υ 302 σαρδάνιον *p* 23 H 3 Mon.: σαρδόνιον vulg. as Polybius xvii. 7. 6, first as it seems.

21. φ 6 εὐκαμπέα] ἐπικαμπέα Mon.: Plutarch, Camill. 32.

22. ψ 14 περ ἔβλαψαν] παρέβλαψαν *aj* Eu.: παραβλάπτει Galen ii. 232. 2 K.

23. ψ 93 ἄνεω] ἄνεως P 3: poeta (ἐν μυθικοῖς) ap. Suid. in v.

24. ω 276 ἀπλοίδας] διπλωίδας U 8, γρ. K: διπλοῖς Anth. Pal. viii. 165.

25. ω 507 ἄριστοι] ἐρισταί *j* L 5: ἐριστῆς Aquila, Ezech. 44. 6.

We have now collected the recorded instances of alteration of the Homeric text. They entered from the eighth century to Hellenistic, Roman and all but Byzantine times. The character of the alterations changes with time. Their importance diminishes with the century; lines were added in the period of Hesiod and the Cycle, a passage was given another version in the time of the Hymns; shorter but material changes of sense are found in the same period. Later than the seventh century we find little but new forms, new uses of words and new words. By exception a variant here and there affects the meaning (e. g. *σίον* ε 72, *μελάνδρουν* ξ 12, *τομουῖροι* π 403). In other words deliberate augmentation of the text, or material alteration of its meaning, ceased after the eighth and seventh centuries; succeeding changes were limited, with a few exceptions, to vocabulary and forms of words. Moreover, as in most of the recorded cases of addition we can trace the additions to literature, it follows that there is considerable probability that additions were due to the effect of literature, mostly epic literature; and that as δ 285 sqq., detected by the Alexandrians, came from the Cycle, the list of Paphlagonian towns β 853-5, detected by Mr. Arkwright, came from the *Cypria*. The interpolator did not make them up, he took them from a work which went under Homer's name, or which might have been Homer's, or might represent Homer's knowledge on another occasion, when better informed.

The question next rises were there other additions? (I mean additions of moment). If we accept the view that Homer selected and adapted the chronicle, on the one hand, and that his poems yielded to contemporary literature to a small extent, on the other, there is not much room left for large deliberate invented interpolation. Any such proposed must prove their independence of literature. There is a class of smaller constant additions, consisting of grammatical supplements to ease the construction, proverbs, similes, and the like detachable supplements. I made collections of these *C. R.* 1902, 1 sqq., *C. Q.* 1913, 231 sqq.,

and hope to return to them elsewhere. No one would pretend that all of these are loans from other poems.¹ Formulaic supplements, which are very numerous, usually come from other places in Homer, cf. *C. R. l. c.* These additions are the object on which the Alexandrians exercised their skill. But for the Alexandrians we should have had no inkling of such things, and it is possible that we shall return to the limits set us by their discoveries.

They detected one much larger addition, to the *Odyssey*. I discussed this in the first draft of this chapter (*C. R.* 1913 'The Canonicity of Homer'). Since that date Professor J. B. Bury has considered the subject in an article called 'The End of the Odyssey', *J. H. S.* 1922. I therefore now restate my conclusions, taking account of Mr. Bury's criticisms.² My contention was that the end of the *Odyssey* was another case of the rule which I have just laid down, and came, perhaps entire, from another poem. Aristophanes and Aristarchus athetized ψ 297 to the end of ω. As the scholia ad l. say *πέρας τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦτο* (sc. 296) *ποιοῦνται*. This statement, bald as it is, has some weight. Did these two librarians excise the passage on aesthetic grounds (in which they concurred), or had they diplomatic evidence? The miserable state of the *Odyssey*-scholia does not allow us to say. It is indisputable that the Alexandrians did athetize without diplomatic support, see the examples in Ludwig, *A. H. T.* i. 54 sqq. That they did so in this case is made probable by the other incidental scholia which remain: sc. ψ 310 *οὐ καλῶς ἡθέτησεν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος τοὺς τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ῥητορικὴν γὰρ πεποίηκεν ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν καὶ ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας*. ω 1 *Ἀρίσταρχος ἀθετεῖ τὴν νεκυίαν κεφαλαίοις τοῖς συνεκτικωτάτοις τοῖσδε* [various grounds, which the scholia impugn]. sT on Ω 720 *ἀθετητέος ὁ Μουσῶν ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεῖ θρήνος*. It seems therefore probable that the

¹ One however is. Ω 45 ath. Ar. om. Zen. = Hesiod, *O. D.* 318.

² For presumed differences in language, on which I say nothing, see Shewan, *Classical Philology* viii. 284, ix. 35, 160.

Alexandrians had no documentary evidence before them: at the same time in the case of substantial atheteses (not nearly as long as this one) documentary evidence is given; e. g. Σ 39-49 (omitted in the Argolica), α 97-102 (in the Massiliensis), δ 285-9 (*οὐ σχεδὸν ἐν πάσαις*), P 134-6 (the Chia), &c. (see *A. H. T.* i. 118 sqq.). The matter therefore rests undecided, if it be probable that the Alexandrians were moved by the same considerations that we are, sc. *ὅτι οὐκ Ὀμηρικόν*.

In book ψ vv. 264-84, which the Alexandrians admitted, Ulysses gives a kind of forecast of the rest of his life; the reader is informed in general terms of what is to happen next. Reconciliation with the relatives of the suitors and compensation for their deaths is mentioned by Ulysses to Telemachus, ψ 117-22; the carrying out of what is admitted necessary is left to the reader's imagination, but that it was to take place is implied in the fact of Ulysses having further adventures. This seems to me to make against the argument of Mr. Bury and others, that 'it was necessary, for the satisfaction of those who had listened to the recitation, to tell how the inevitable feud between Odysseus and the men of Ithaca, whose kinsmen he had slain, was composed' (Bury, p. 6).¹ I conceive that Homer considered he had done this by 117-22. The continuator, seeing an opening for a continuation, and possibly finding a public curiosity to support him (see p. 178 n.), set the events out, and cut the knot by the absurd thunderbolt which suspended hostilities, the religious question, namely, how the *μύσος* was removed, being, it should be noticed, unsolved. Though an engagement was entered into with the relatives, Ulysses is still unclean at the end of ω.

Accordingly, as it appears to me, the poem might have come to completion and a natural end at 296, and the

¹ The contrary feeling is expressed by Chrysostom with regard to the ending of the Acts of the Apostles: *ὁρᾷς οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ; μέχρι τούτων τὸν λόγον ἴστησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς καὶ ἀφήσιν διψῶντα τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὥστε τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ συλλογίσεσθαι. τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἔξω ποιοῦσι· τὸ γὰρ πάντα εἰδέναι νωθῇ ποιεῖ καὶ ἐκκελυμένον* (vol. 1x. 382 Migne).

events of 297- ω are no more required than the arrival of Penthesilea or the death of Achilles is for the *Iliad*. In fact the two poems end very similarly: the *Iliad* with the complete extinction of the Wrath of Achilles, the *Odyssey* with Ulysses' recovery of his manorial rights and domestic bliss.

We must, however, consider the contents of 297- ω . We have first (310-41) a recapitulation of Ulysses' adventures, from the Cicones to the Phaeacians, next (ω 121-48) a recapitulation (in the mouth of Amphimedon) of the suitors' conduct during the absence of Ulysses, and (149-90) of Ulysses' adventures since his landing in Ithaca. Thus the whole *Odyssey*, immediately it has closed, is epitomized. Such an epitome is obviously useless to the reader of the *Odyssey*; he, to judge by one reader's feelings, lays the book down with satisfaction. If he is curious he may want to know what came next, but he has had enough of adventures and particularly of the Suitors. I was wrong, however, to say (l. c. 176) that Homer never epitomizes nor recapitulates his action. As Mr. Bury points out we have *résumés* at η 244, ρ 108. All that can be said is that η 244 sqq. are an answer to Arete's question 'Where did you get those clothes?', and begin the process leading to the complete identification of Ulysses. They are to some extent demanded by the scene in Phaeacia. Even here nine lines (251-8) were considered superfluous. The *résumé* ρ 108 sqq. is unredeemed, and it is extraordinary that none of the ancients athetized it. Possibly it is not as gratuitous as those in ψ and ω , and may be held to have assisted the action, since Penelope's policy depended on knowing if there were news of Ulysses. By ψ and ω the action is over, and nothing is furthered by these recitals. After my remarks in chapter viii I cannot take bad workmanship and economy as signs of lateness: I only observe that in *B* and Θ Homer adopts bad expedients to further his ends which in themselves are successful. In ψ and ω no end is served at all.

But (as I said in my article) these passages may have

been useful in another place, for example, at the beginning of another poem, a poem which contained events later than the *μνηστηροφονία*, where the reader required to be posted up in the situation. These two *présis* would have started the reader fair, as on a larger scale Homer orientates the reader of his *Odyssey* by devoting four books (α - δ) to the exposition of the situation in Ithaca and Greece at the moment when the action begins in ϵ . The diasceuaſt of ψ, ω I suggest found these two *présis* in another poem, began his continuation with them, and tacked on to them the country scenes, *τὰ ἐν Δαέρτου*. In what poem were they found? Not in the *Τηλεγονία* of Eugammon, for that began too late, with the burial of the Suitors and Ulysses' journey to Elis.

The *νέκνυια* also offended ancient critics, as a poor imitation of the *νέκνυια* in λ . Its poverty is obvious; but the inference to be drawn is not so sure. I may have again put it too strongly when I said in my article that Homer never repeats a motive. Mr. Bury justly adduces the duels in Γ and H . After my exposition in chapter viii (p. 188) I account for this case by saying that here Homer is dealing with history. In the chronicle there were two duels. Homer, determining to have the earlier as well as the later in his poem, put up with the repetition. It is more to ask us to believe that he added a second *νέκνυια* which serves no purpose. As the subject was popular and there were many *νέκνυιαι* (in the *Μινυάς* and the *Νόστοι*, Paus. x. 28. 7), I prefer to think that the continuator appropriated one of these, if indeed he did not take his *νέκνυια* from the poem from which I derive the whole of this passage. For, again, where did the continuator find his material?

An examination of the narrative by slightly less subjective criteria may tell us. The souls of the unburied suitors, guided by Hermes (ω 11)

*παρ (δ') ἴσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ λευκάδα πέτρην,
ἥδ' ἐπαρ' ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων
ἦισαν, αἶψα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
ἐνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαὶ εἶδωλα καμόντων.*

Following Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, ii. 432 sqq., and most critics, I assumed in my article that the λευκάς πέτρη was the south point of Sta. Maura, otherwise known as Λευκάτης, which was believed to have given its classical name to the island (Strabo 452). If this were so we had an indication of route which was Adriatic, and might as Bérard said point to the Thesprotian νεκυομαντεῖον which Periander consulted. In that case literature having to do with Thesprotia would give the source we require.

I had incautiously translated λευκάς πέτρη 'white rock'. Mr. Bury more correctly speaks of 'the Leucadian rock'. But he takes it to be a simple landmark in or on the way to Hades: 'the Leucadian rock must then be a legendary landmark, by the river Ocean' (p. 5). But how can there be a Leucadian rock except at Leucas? This rendering really involves the interpretation 'white rock'. There were several landmarks in or near Hades,¹ and a white stone though new might be one of them. This involves making λευκάς = λευκή, a simple adjective. This is un-homeric, and the examples though not infrequent do not mount above 500 B.C. (μυριάς Corinna, κρηνιάς λισσάς Aeschylus).² Therefore I take λευκάς here to be a substantive, 'the rock Leucas', or 'of Leucas'. Even the connexion with λευκός is an inference of Strabo (452). There were other derivations (Λεῦκος, a member of Ulysses' crew, Ptol. Heph. ap. Phot. bibl. 153 a 7). The real names are Λευκάς or Λευκαδία the island, Λευκάτης the cape (Leucatae . . . montis, Verg. *Aen.* iii. 274, Leucāten, viii. 67i). If Dulichium does not mean 'long', Λευκάτης = λευκός also may be a Volksetymologie.

In Mr. Bury's view all local determination would disappear. But in literature the conjunction λευκάς πέτρα is equivalent to Cape Leucates; Anacreon, fr. 19 ἀρθεῖς δ'

¹ 'Ο Αἰαῖνον λίθος *Frogs* 194, the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα in Demeter's wanderings Apollod. i. 5. 1: the Γιγωνία πέτρα ἢ παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανόν Ptol. Heph. 148 a 33.

² λευκάς = λευκή is given by Stephanus from Nonnus.

ἡὺτ' ἀπὸ λευκάδος | πέτρης ἐς πολιδὸν κῦμα κολυμβῶ μεθύων
ἔρωτι (where the last words are unmistakable), Eur.
Cyclops 166 ῥίψας τ' ἐς ἄλμην λευκάδος πέτρης ἄπο,
Charinus ap. Ptol. Heph. l. c. ἔρροις πλανῆτι καὶ κακῇ πέτρῃ
λευκάς. There was a Leucopetra, in agro Rhegino (Cic.
Phil. i), but it did not make its way into post-Homeric epos.

The ghosts, as Bérard says, will be on their way to the Thesprotian necyomanteum, of which there is no mention in Homer, and which came into notice with the Corinthian colonization of these parts, to which period ψ 267-ω will belong: at this period also there seems no objection to taking ὠκεανοῖο ῥοαί of the sea generally. The Adriatic with its fabulous north-end, into which the Eridanus poured and other streams were believed to pour, was not a bad ῥοή ὠκεανοῖο. The order of the places in ω 11 is the verse-order, as usually in Homer; the sea is meant at least as far as Cichyrus. What the ἡελίοιο πύλαι were we do not know; possibly some gorge or gap to the east of Ephyra, which of course possessed Acheron and Cocytus too. The δῆμος ὀνείρων is, I presume, Ephyra itself, where the shades came up in dreams.

If this is so we look for a poem dealing with the south Adriatic or Albania.¹ Such is the *Alcmaeonis*, which (fr. 5 Kinkel) inserted Ἀλυζεύς and Λευκάδιος into Ulysses' family; another is the *Thesprotis* which, according to Clement of Alexandria, Eugammon incorporated bodily in his *Τηλεγονία* (*Strom.* VI. ii. 25. 1 αὐτοτελῶς τὰ ἐτέρων ὑφελόμενοι ὥς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν, καθάπερ Εὐγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὀλόκληρον). The *Telegonia* itself opened where ω left off; in a poem from which it conveyed Ulysses' adventures in Thesprotia there may have stood the events between ψ 266 and his departure for Thesprotia. Hence for the νέκυνια and τὰ ἐν Λαέρτου I proposed the *Thesprotis* as the source, and I

¹ We must not forget that a *Telegonia* is ascribed to Cinaethon also, whose floruit in Eusebius is ol. 4. 2 (Kinkel, p. 196). It is only a name, but it shows that the sources must not be supposed to be limited to Musaeus.

thought that the two ἀνακεφαλαιώσεις, ψ 310-43, ω 125-85, were a natural introduction to the story of the *Thesprotis*. We do not know the length of any of these poems; all we know is that the *Telegonia* had two books. *Hero and Leander* has 341 lines, but not much can be inferred from that. The two summaries together amount to less than a hundred lines; even if the *Thesprotis* consisted of one book only and were of a moderate compass, say 600-700 lines, a hundred verses does not seem too much for a prooemium. We know that the *Thesprotis* chronicled the birth of a daughter by Penelope to Ulysses; it may therefore have contained τὰ ἐν Λαέρτου and similar Ithacan details.¹ These I suggest the writer of ω expanded to some extent.

Accordingly ψ 267-ω will have been composed between the sixth-century *Telegonia* which followed them and the *Thesprotis* of Musaeus, which implies the Corinthian colonization as made or coming. Such a period allows for the inferiority of the books which strikes critics generally and induced Aristophanes and Aristarchus to condemn them. The period need not be much later than Arctinus, in whom we find the Μουσῶν θρῆνοι which were considered unhomeric.

¹ As that Neoptolemus was called in to arbitrate between the Ithacans and Ulysses (Aristotle, fr. 133, *F. H. G.* ii, no doubt from the Ἰθακησίων πολιτεία); this is too early for the *Telegonia*, the beginning of the *Thesprotis* would be a good place for it: and that Ulysses married Euippe of Thesprotia, Lysimachus, fr. 17. Again, the *Telegonia* has a different version of Ulysses' death from that prophesied λ 134 sqq., for to be killed by Telegonus in mistake is not θάνατος ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος (though the ancients reconciled the two statements by arming Telegonus with a spear partly constructed of a fish-bone, see the *gad l.*). The unhomeric version of the *Telegonia* may be put down to the *Thesprotis*. Further, in Plutarch, *Mor.* 294 c, Aristotle (of course in the Ἰθ. πολ.) makes Ulysses go not to Thesprotia but to Italy (his adventures at Temesa, Paus. vi. 6. 7, occurred before his return). There was, therefore, a third version, neither that of the *Thesprotis* nor the *Telegonia*. From this, perhaps, came the Tuscan story of Ulysses' ὑπνώδες καὶ δυσέντευκτον (ib. 27 ε) which obviously applies to his old age. Sextus Empiricus i. 267 alludes to different versions of the death of Ulysses, and Ptol. *Heph.* 150 a 12 has another and Italian explanation of ἐξ ἁλός. He sang, in *Τυρρηγία*, Demodocus' Ἰλίου ἄλωσις ib. 152 b 34 (this implies the *Odyssey*). The *v. l.* τομῶροι for θέμιστες π 403, which Strabo ascribes to the νιῶτρες 329, may have strayed into the later text from Musaeus.

CHAPTER X

PISISTRATUS AND HOMER

A TRADITION about the transmission of the Homeric poems was current in the ancient world, and has been now received now rejected by the moderns. It connects the poems with Pisistratus, and states that he exercised one or another kind of control over them: he put them together or he edited them. This tradition in any but the slenderest form is inconsistent with the account I have given of the relation of the Cycle to Homer (p.75), namely that the Cycle, the major poems of which were composed in the eighth century, presupposes the existence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as we have them; and I reject the tradition *in toto*. Still it is worth while to state it. The evidence takes us through the underneath of the Greek literary world: and the analysis of an error of the human mind is not without profit. The only modern literature that I need mention is the treatise by Hans Flach, *Die litterarische Thätigkeit des Peisistratos*, 1885, unduly neglected. It is curious how, when a German for once speaks sense, the rest turn him a deaf ear.¹

The influence which the Attic dialect had upon the text of Homer (for which see Wackernagel, *Glotta* vii) does not bear upon Pisistratus' recension. Before the Alexandrian period it is natural to assume that Athens was a centre of the book-trade, at least in the fifth and fourth centuries; the positive evidence is, naturally, very slight,² but there is no negative evidence. Thus in a certain number of copies Athenian phonetic influence would naturally be found. It

¹ I can now add an abundant and instructive article by M. Victor Bérard, *Revue de Philologie*, 1921, 194 sqq.

² Cf. p. 295.

would have been found if Pisistratus and the Panathenaea had never existed.

I

THE AUTHORITIES.

The passages of ancient authors which bear on this question fall into four groups—those dealing with the Panathenaea, those attesting the transport of the poems to Athens, those asserting the collection of the lays, those asserting interpolation.

(A) Lycurgus, in *Leocr.* 102 βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου παρασχέσθαι ἐπῶν. οὕτω γὰρ ὑπέλαβον ὑμῶν οἱ πατέρες σπουδαῖον εἶναι ποιητὴν ὥστε νόμον ἔθεντο καθ' ἐκάστην πεντετηρίδα τῶν Παναθηναίων μόνου τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν ραψωδεῖσθαι τὰ ἔπη, ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων προηροῦντο. The festival is named, but not the author of the law. An Athenian orator could hardly glorify Pisistratus, and Napoléon III is still ignored by the French Republic. The passage implies that the Hesiodic corpus, Eumelus, &c., were excluded from the Panathenaea, whereas at the Apaturia children recited all kinds of poems, πολλῶν . . καὶ πολλὰ ποιητῶν ποιήματα Plato, *Timaeus* 21 B.

Isocr. *Panegy.* xlii = 159 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν. This statement is vaguer than Lycurgus', inasmuch as both festival and legislator are omitted. To follow Isocrates' argument literally the reference would be to the fifth century, not the sixth, if Homer owed his popularity to his coincidence with anti-Persian feeling. Probably Isocrates adapted the tradition to his purpose, and the vagueness is

intentional. The first passage in which the Panathenaic regulations are ascribed to any one in particular is in the Platonic *Hipparchus* 228 B ΣΩ. οὐ μεντὰν καλῶς ποιοίην οὐ πειθόμενος ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ σοφῷ. ΙΙΙ. τίνι τούτῳ; καὶ τί μάλιστα; ΣΩ. πολίτῃ μὲν ἐμῷ τε καὶ σῷ, Πεισιστράτου δὲ υἱεὶ τοῦ ἐκ Φιλαιδῶν, Ἰππάρχῳ, ὃς τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων ἦν πρεσβύτατος καὶ σοφώτατος, ὃς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα σοφίας ἀπεδείξατο καὶ τὰ Ὀμήρου πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψωδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διέναι, ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οἶδε ποιοῦσι. καὶ ἐπ' Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον πεντηκόντορον στείλας ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Σιμωνίδην δὲ τὸν Κεῖον αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε, μεγάλοις μισθοῖς καὶ δώροις πείθων. No political embargo restrained the philosopher; he celebrated the tyrant's son as the Leone decimo or the Morgan of his day, purchasing treasures and concentrating men of letters. The author of the *Hipparchus* is unknown, but it must belong to the fourth century. The next text rests on the authority of a historian who may belong to the same century (Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.* 240 sqq.). Diogenes Laert. i. 2. 57 (Life of Solon) τὰ τε Ὀμήρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ῥαψωδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἔληξεν ἐκεῖθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὀμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν ἑ Μεγαρικῶν [*F. H. G.* iv. 389]. That Dieuchidas preferred the democrat to the tyrant or the tyrant's son follows from his national standpoint, which may be observed elsewhere in his fragments (see p. 246). The account of the regulation, its author apart, is evidently identical in these two sources. Dieuchidas seems to have omitted the festival, not a pleasing subject to a Megarian.

There was then, at the end of the fourth century, a tradition believed in Athens and in Megara by orators, philosophers, and antiquaries that Homer was recited at the Panathenaea exclusively and consecutively, under a regulation ascribed to Solon or Pisistratus.

(B) The passage from the *Hipparchus* cited above con-

tains the next tradition also : τὰ Ὀμήρου πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί—a remarkable statement to have been made not more than one hundred and fifty years after the supposed event. That the Homeric poems were previously unknown in Greece is disproved by their diffusion and influence at Sicily under Clisthenes (Herod. v. 67); that they had already arrived at Athens appears from the appeal made to them in the matter of Sigeion (see p. 239). Athenian history is an all but total blank before the affair of Sigeion, and we can make no statement about the early culture of Attica. It is singular that the historical imagination of the later fourth century conceived an epos-less Attica till the time of the Pisistratidae. Hippostratus, the Sicilian antiquarian (*F. H. G.* iv. 426), said that Cynaethus first sang Homer in Syracuse, ol. 69; but the year is generally thought incredible.

The same achievement is ascribed to Lycurgus by Aelian, *V. H.* xiii. 14 ὃψὲ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀθρόαν πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκόμισε τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν τὸ δὲ ἀγώγιμον τοῦτο ἐξ Ἰωνίας ἡνίκα ἀπέδημῃσεν ἤγαγεν. ὕστερον δὲ Πεισίστρατος συναγαγὼν ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν, and Dio Prus. ii. 45 ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν ἐπαινέτην Ὀμήρου γενέσθαι καὶ πρῶτον ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἢ τῆς Ἰωνίας κομίσαι τὴν ποίησιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. That Homer passed from East to West is true, and the legend in both its forms contains this fact. It is conceivable that the Homeridae, to explain the passing of the poems from their hands, circulated a legend that they had entrusted them to a Western lawgiver on his travels. This origin of the Lycurgus legend at least appears clearly from the older statement in the excerpts from Heraclides' *Πολιτεῖαι* (*F. H. G.* ii. 210): Λυκοῦργος ἐν Σάμῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν παρὰ τῶν ἀπογόνων Κρεωφύλου λαβὼν πρῶτος διεκόμισεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον; and in Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 4, who conceives Lycurgus as taking a copy from the heirs of Creophylus: ἐγράψατο προθύμως καὶ συνήγαγεν ὥς δεῦρο κομιῶν. ἦν γάρ τις ἤδη δόξα τῶν ἐπῶν ἀμαρπὰ

παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἐκέκτηντο δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ μέρη τινα σποράδην τῆς ποιήσεως ὥς ἔτυχε διαφερομένης. Ephorus, on the other hand (ap. Strab. 482), reports the view that Lycurgus met Homer himself at Chios. The story can hardly have been absent in Timaeus (fr. 4) and Dieuchidas (fr. 5).

(C) There is more abundant testimony to what Pisistratus is supposed to have done to the poems once in Attica. Cicero may take the lead (*de Or.* iii. 137): *sed, ut ad Graecos referam orationem . . . septem fuisse dicuntur uno tempore qui sapientes et haberentur et vocarentur. hi omnes praeter Milesium Thalen civitatibus suis praefuerunt. quis doctior iisdem temporibus illis, aut cuius eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. non fuit ille quidem civibus suis utilis, sed ita eloquentia floruit ut litteris doctrinaeque praestaret.* Cicero's source is made out by Flach, *l. c.*, pp. 3 sqq., to have been Pergamene; the links were Athenodorus son of Sandon, Asclepiades of Myrlea (p. 233 n. 2), Crates. Without insistence on details¹ this result may be accepted. Cicero starts from the Pergamene conception of Pisistratus as one of the Seven Sages (on which see p. 246); in his further statements he is supported by Pausanias vii. 26. 13 *Αἰγείρας δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξύ καὶ Πελλήνης πόλισμα ὑπήκοον Σικωνίων Δονοῦσσα καλουμένη ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικωνίων ἀνάστατος, μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι φασιν αὐτῆς ποιήσαντα ἔπος*

οἷ θ' Ὑπερησὶν τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δονόεσσαν.

Πεισίστρατος δὲ ἡνίκα ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ [ἄλλα] ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονεύμενα ἤθροιζε τότε αὐτὸν Πεισί-

¹ It is difficult to dissociate Athenodorus Calvus (*ad Att.* xvi. 11. 4) from Ἀθηνόδωρος ἐπίκλην Κορυλίων. Calvus seems only applicable as a nickname, and only a bald man would be noticeable for a *κορυλή* or lump on the head. Athenodorus would be charging Pisistratus with practices in which he himself indulged, if according to Isidore of Pergamus in D. L. vii. 34 he was detected in the expurgation of Zeno.

στρατον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπ' ἀγνοίας. The statement about the unintentional alteration of Δονόεσσαν into Γονόεσσαν perhaps proceeded from the Sicyonians who desired a title for its destruction.¹

Aelian also, quoted p. 228, says Pisistratus collected and edited the poems.

Here we must add the epigram, of uncertain date, found *vit.* IV, *vit.* V, and *Anth. Pal.* xi. 442, as well as in the grammarian below

τρίς με τυραννήσαντα τοσαυτάκις ἐξεδίωξε
 δῆμος Ἐρεχθῆος καὶ τρίς ἐπηγάγετο,
 τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλαῖς Πεισίστρατον ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον
 ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν ἀειδόμενον
 ἡμέτερος γὰρ κείνος ὁ χρύσεος ἦν πολιίτης
 εἴπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἐπφκίσαμεν.

Villoison, *Diatriba*, pp. 178 sqq. (*Anecd. Graec.* ii. 1781) published scholia on Dionysius Thrax from two MSS., Ven. 489 and Ven. 652 (reprinted by Bekker, *Anecd.* ii. 645 sqq.).²

p. 182: Ven. 489 ἦν γὰρ ὧς φασιν ἀπολλύμενα τὰ τοῦ Ὅμηρου τότε γὰρ οὐ γραφῇ παρεδίδοντο, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, ὡς ἂν μνήμονι [?-κῶς] φυλάττοιτο. Πεισίστρατος δέ τις Ἀθηναίων τύραννος, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσιν ὦν εὐγενής, κὰν τούτῳ θαυμασθῆναι ἐβουλεύσατο· ἠθέλησε γὰρ τὴν Ὅμηρου ποιήσιν ἔγγραφον διαφυλάττεσθαι. προθεὶς δὲ ἀγῶνα δημοτελῆ, καὶ κηρύξας καὶ δοὺς ἄδειαν τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ βουλομένοις τὰ Ὅμηρου ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ μισθὸν τάξας στίχου ἐκάστου ὀβολόν, συνήγαγεν ὁλοσχερεῖς τὰς λέξεις, καὶ παρέδωκεν ἀνθρώποις σοφοῖς καὶ ἐπιστήμοσιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο δηλοῖ [*Anth. Pal.* l. c.]. ἄλλως λέγεται ὅτι συνερράφησαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τυράννου τὰ Ὅμηρου ποιήματα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν συνετέθησαν τὰ πρὶν σποράδην καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀναγινωσκόμενα, διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρμογὴν αὐτῶν τῷ χρόνῳ διασπασθῆναι. Ven. 489 et 652 ἀναγκαῖον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν τῆς ῥαψωδίας ἐπιμνησθῆναι

¹ Gonussa in Sicyonian territory appears Paus. ii. 4. 4 where Melas its prince is an ally of the Dorian Aletes against Corinth: he was ancestor of the Cypselidae *id.* v. 18. 7 whose *Stammplatz* Gonussa was.

² We have the same view in general in Libanius, *or.* xii. 56, *decl.* i. 73.

κάκεινου ὅτι ἐν τινι χρόνῳ τὰ Ὀμήρου ποιήματα παρεφθάρησαν ἢ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἢ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ [ἢ ὑπὸ ὑδάτων ἐπιφορᾶς add. 489], καὶ ἀλληνάλλως τῶν βιβλίων διασκεδασθέντων καὶ φθαρέντων ὕστερον εὐρέθη ὁ μὲν ἔχων ἑκατὸν στίχους τυχὸν Ὀμηρικούς, ὁ δὲ χιλίους, ἄλλος διηκοσίους, ἄλλος ὅσους ἂν ἔτυχε, καὶ ἔμελλε λήθῃ παραδεδοσθαι ἡ τοιαύτη ποίησις· ἀλλὰ Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός, θέλων ἑαυτῷ δόξαν περιποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἀνανεῶσαι, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐβουλεύσατο· ἐκήρυξεν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὸν ἔχοντα Ὀμηρικούς στίχους ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὠρισμένῳ καθ' ἕκαστον στίχον· πάντες οὖν οἱ ἔχοντες ἀπέφερον, καὶ ἐλάμβανον ἀδιαστρόφως τὸν ὀρισθέντα μισθόν. οὐκ ἀπέδωκε δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν φέροντα οὓς ἤδη προειλήφει στίχους παρ' ἐτέρου, ἀλλὰ κάκεινῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπέδιδου μισθόν. ἐνίοτε γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἓνα ἢ δύο στίχους εὗρισκε περιττούς, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ πλείους· ὅθεν τις ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ἰδίους παρεῖσφερε τοὺς νῦν ὀβελιζομένους, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας συναγαγεῖν παρεκάλεσεν οἱ γραμματικούς συνθεῖναι τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου, ἕκαστον κατ' ἰδίαν, ὅπως ἂν δόξῃ τῷ συντεθέντι καλῶς ἔχειν ἐπὶ μισθῷ πρόποντι λογικοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ κριταῖς ποιημάτων, ἐκάστῳ δεδοκῶς πάντας τοὺς στίχους κατ' ἰδίαν ὅσους ἦν συναγαγόν· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἕκαστον συνθεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην εἰς ἐν συνήγαγε πάντας τοὺς προλεχθέντας γραμματικούς, ὀφείλοντας ἐπιδείξαι αὐτῷ ἕκαστον τὴν ἰδίαν σύνθεσιν, παρόντων ὁμοῦ πάντων. οὗτοι οὖν ἀκροασάμενοι, οὐ πρὸς ἕριν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῇ τέχνῃ ἀρμόζον; ἔκριναν πάντες κοινῇ καὶ ὁμοφώνως ἐπικρατῆσαι τὴν σύνθεσιν καὶ διόρθωσιν Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου. καὶ πάλιν ἔκριναν τῶν δύο συνθέσεών τε καὶ διορθώσεων βελτίονα τὴν Ἀριστάρχου. ἐπειδὴ δέ τινες τῶν συναγαγόντων τοὺς Ὀμήρου στίχους πρὸς τὸν Πεισίστρατον διὰ τὸ πλείονα μισθὸν λαβεῖν καὶ ἰδίους στίχους ὥς καὶ εἴρηται σκεψάμενοι προσέθηκαν, καὶ ἤδη ἐν συνηθείᾳ ἐγένοντο τοῖς ἀναγνώσκουσιν, οὐκ ἔλαθε τοῦτο τοὺς κριτάς, ἀλλὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν συνηθείαν καὶ πρόληψιν ἀφῆκαν αὐτοὺς κείσθαι. ὀβελίσκους δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀδοκίμων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ἀναξίων τοῦ ποιητοῦ στίχων παρατιθέμενοι τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπεδείξαντο ὥς

ἀνάξιοί εἰσι τοῦ Ὀμήρου. φέρεται καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸν Πεισίστρατον σπουδάσαντα συναγαγεῖν τὰ Ὀμήρου τοιοῦτον [ut sup.].

The infantile legend of the LXXII is evidently the same as that alluded to by Tzetzes [below]: the source is held to be Heliodorus, not the metrician, but a sixth-century follower of Choeroboscus, to whom we owe a commentary on Dion. Thrax (Uhlig, *D. Thracis àrs grammatica*, 1883, praef. xxxiv sqq.). He is mentioned in the Latin version (*schol. Aristoph.*, ed. Dübner, xxii b 42): *Heliodorus multa alia nugatur quae longo convicio Caecius reprehendit. nam ab LXXII doctis viris a Pisistrato huic negotio praepositis dicit Homerum ita fuisse compositum, etc.*

The most explicit statement, however, is in the remarkable treatise by Tzetzes published by Cramer, *An. Par.* i. 3, from the MS. Paris *grec* 2677, s. xvi (= P), ff. 92 sqq. (repeated by Dübner, *schol. Aristoph.* xvii sqq., and Bergk, *Aristophanes* 1853, xxxv), and by Studemund, *Philologus* xlv. 1 sqq., from five more MSS., Paris 2821, Vat. *graec.* 62, s. xvi, Vat. *graec.* 1385, s. xv (= V), Estensis III. C. 14 (= M), Paris *supplém. grec* 655.¹

The important passage (Cramer, p. 6, Dübner xix. 37, Bergk xxxviii. 22) is the following (omitted in Paris *grec* 2821, *suppl. grec* 655, Vat. 62):²

¹ I inspected in 1912 Paris *grec*. 2677 (which was recollated by L. Cohn for Studemund). It is of the late sixteenth century. The word we print καγ ends in a letter which is not certainly γ, but more like γ than ν or τ. The scribe copied very accurately, as appears from a mark (~~~~) to indicate a gap inserted after κογκυλω. (See Hase's accurate letter to Cramer, *An. Par.* i, p. 16). He apparently intended ἀθηνοδώρω ἐπικλην κορδυλίω as a correction of καγ ἐπὶ κογκύλω, but it is inconceivable that it was his own conjecture, and the two phrases stand in no graphical relation to each other. He must have found the marginales in his original; the scribes of the other MSS. omitted it. It is to be presumed the immediate original ran καὶ κατ' ἀθηνοδώρον ἐπικλην κορδυλίω ἐπικογκύλω κτλ., and that when κατ' ἀθ. ἐπικλ. κορ. got into the margin (owing to the homoearchon of ἐπικλην and ἐπικογκύλω) without its preposition it was assimilated to the case of the other proper names. I owed the reading of the Cambridge MS. to Mr. Jenkinson.

² The Bodleian MSS. of Aristophanes (8), those in the British Museum

καίτοι τὰς Ὀμηρικὰς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο γραμματικοὶ ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τυράννου διέθηκαν οὕτως ἰσοράδην οὔσας τὸ πρῖν. ἐπεκρίθησαν δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνων τὸν καιρὸν ὑπ' Ἀριστάρχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου, ἄλλων ὄντων τούτων τῶν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου διορθωσάντων. οἱ δὲ τέσσαρσιν τισι τῶν ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου διόρθωσιν ἀναφέρουσιν, Ὀρφεὶ Κροτωνιάτῃ, Ζωπύρῳ Ἡρακλεώτῃ, Ὀνομακρίτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ καὶ ἐπικογκύλῳ (so V and the Cambridge MS. *Bd.* 11. 70, s. xv; καὶ ἐπὶ κογκύλῳ M; καὶ *καγ ἐπικογκυλῳ, marg.* αθηνοδώρῳ ἐπὶ κλην κορυλλίῳ P).

A Latin version of this article discovered by Ritschl (*Opusc.* i. 5) in a MS. of the Collegio Romano (4. C. 39, s. xv) now apparently lost, had the heading *ex caecio in commento comoediarum aristophanis in pluto*, and preserves the same corruption *videlicet concyli onomacriti*. Cf. also Dziatzko, *Rh. Mus.* xlv. 349. Giorgio Valla the Placentine in his book *Expetendorum et Fugiendorum libri XXXVIII*. 1501, quoted by Studemund, gives the name as *epitencylo*. It seems artificial not to see the source of this statement in Athenodorus head of the Pergamene library (D. L. vii. 1. 29, *Plut. Cat. min.* 6), or to deny that the same was among Cicero's sources. Pergamos canonized Pisistratus among the Seven, and envisaged Homer as the work of his mystic commission.¹

The three members whose names are clear, Orpheus,² Zopyrus, and Onomacritus, were three of the reputed authors of the Orphic *corpus* (Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 21),³ to whom Epigenes ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀρφέα ποιήσεως

(6), and the other Paris MSS. of the *Plutus* (about 21), omit this part of the treatise.

¹ The motive is obvious, and excuses their credulity, or the reckless use they made of Megarian allegation. They wished for an older rival to Ptolemy.

² Suidas: Ὀρφεὺς Κροτωνιάτης, ἐποποιός· ὃν Πεισιστράτης συνείναι τῷ τυράννῳ Ἀσκληπιάδῃς (*F. H. G.* iii. 299) φησὶν ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν γραμματικῶν. As Asclepiades was Pergamene in school, this is considered another indication of the origin of this tradition.

³ Cf. the more confused list in Suidas, s. v. Ὀρφεὺς (1).

ἀναφερομένης¹ added Cecrops and Brontinus. We are therefore taken to Orpheo-Pythagorean circles. Ritschl's conjecture Κέκρωψ is so far justified, but it lacks graphical probability. Among the Pythagoreans names in -υλος or -λος are frequent. I discover in Diels' *Vorsokratiker* Σύλλος, 'Επίσυλος, Ἀγύλος, Ἀστύλος, "Οκκελος, "Οκκιλος, Βάθυλλος. 'Επίσυλος is tempting, but leaves -κογκ- unaccounted for. May we fabricate a name 'Επόκκιλος?² Such a person may have played a part in the school of Pythagoras along with Oncelus and Oncilus, and so have attracted the notice of Athenodorus.³ Valla's *epitoncylus* is something like 'Επιτύχανος -ων, a late name.

(D) Solon or Pisistratus is accused of having inserted several passages in the Homeric text.

(i) B 558 of *Ajax*:

στήσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Strabo 394 καὶ νῦν μὲν ἔχουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν νῆσον, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πρὸς Μεγαρέας ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς ἕρις περὶ αὐτῆς· καὶ φασιν οἱ μὲν Πεισίστρατον οἱ δὲ Σόλωνα παρεγγράψαντα ἐν τῷ νεῶν καταλόγῳ μετὰ τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας [557]

ἐξῆς τοῦτο

στήσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες

μάρτυρι χρήσασθαι τῷ ποιητῇ τοῦ τὴν νῆσον ἐξ ἄρχῆς Ἀθηναίων ὑπάρξει. οὐ παραδέχονται δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ κριτικοὶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀντιμαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς. διὰ τί γὰρ ναυλοχῶν ἔσχατος φαίνεται ὁ Αἴας, οὐ μετ' Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ Πρωτεσίλαφ Θετταλῶν; [he then quotes N 681, Δ 327-30, Δ 273,

¹ On him see p. 132.

² I leave this sentence as I wrote it in 1913. I now find the name 'Επόκιλλος in Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 20. 6, iv. 7. 2, 18. 3. M. Bérard with great ingeniousness brings on *Epicharmus*. "Οκελ(λ)ος ὁ Δευκανός occurs in Sextus *adv. Math.* x. 316. A similar corruption occurs in Hippolytus, *adv. haer.* x. 7. 4 Wendland; for ὀκελλος the MS. 'P' has ὀκη-γλος.

³ This source of emendation I see from Susemihl, *Alex. Literaturgesch.* ii. 246, had occurred in 1881 to Domenico Comparetti, in his treatise *La commissione omerica di Pisistrato e il ciclo epico*, Torino, 1881, who read κατ' Ἀθ. τὸν Κορυδύλιον ἐπὶ κλην Ὀγκύλῳ. I make every amende to my distinguished friend, who is equally at home in every period of ancient life.

Γ 230] οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιαύτην τινα σκήψασθαι μαρτυρίαν παρ' Ὀμήρου δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρφῆσαι οὕτως

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγειν νέας ἔκ τε Πολίχνης
ἔκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε,

ἃ ἐστὶ χωρία Μεγαρικά, ὧν οἱ Τρίποδες Τριποδίσκιον λέγονται, καθ' ὃ ἡ νῦν ἀγορὰ τῶν Μεγάρων κείται.

There is no good scholion on B 558, owing to the fact that the line is omitted in A, and the whole catalogue in T. Strabo's language (οἱ κριτικοί) and his quotations show that he had access to the hypomnemata (Didymus, Aris-tonicus, and doubtless others) which are now represented by schol. A on Γ 230:¹

ὅτι πλησίον ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ἐτάσσετο κατὰ τὴν ἐπιπώλησιν συμφώνως· παραιτητέον² ἄρα ἐκείνων τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ τινων γραφόμενον [B 558]: οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον Αἴαντος Ἀθηναῖοι.

The MSS. B Lp have the following on B 557: γράφει δὲ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνος λόγον ὥς τινες παραλόγως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ποιήσει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀκολουθία οὕτως οἱ δ' Ἄργος. The line is actually omitted by two papyri and about twenty-six mediaeval MSS. including Ven. A.

Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 15 μάρτυρες δὲ εἰσι διττοί, οἱ μὲν παλαιοὶ οἱ δὲ πρόσφατοι, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν μετέχοντες τοῦ κινδύνου οἱ δ' ἐκτός. λέγω δὲ παλαιούς μὲν τοὺς τε ποιητὰς καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων γνωρίμων εἰσὶ κρίσεις φανεραί, οἷον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὀμήρῳ μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμῖνος.³ Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 10 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιμενόντων πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ

¹ Strabo has many coincidences with our extant scholia: e.g. 3, 328, 348, 367, 413, 424, 426, 439, 454, 543, 601, 616. Places where he used commentaries which are unrepresented, or barely represented, in our scholia are 550, 605, 608, 626.

² Παραιτεῖσθαι is equivalent to ἀθετεῖν. Cf. § A 365 and other examples collected in the *Classical Review*, 1901, pp. 8, 9, and the *Odyssey*-scholia throughout. A synonym is *παρὰπέμπεισθαι* in the grammarians.

³ That the Athenians did actually rely upon this verse is quite probable. It gave them no real title, and was merely an indication of the moorings of Ajax's ships at Aulis, like 526 of the Phocians, cf. *Catalogue*, pp. 56, 57.

δρῶντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πάσχοντες ἐποιήσαντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους διαλλακτὰς καὶ δικαστάς· οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλῳ συναναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὀμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
στήσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

αὐτοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτα μὲν οἶονται φλυαρίαν εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Σόλωνα φασιν ἀποδείξει τοῖς δικασταῖς ὅτι κτλ. . . . Ἡρέας δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς [*F. H. G.* iv. 426, 7] ἐνιστάμενος λέγει κτλ. Quintilian v. 11. 40 *neque est ignobile exemplum [auctoritatis] Megarios ab Atheniensibus cum de Salamine contenderent victos Homeri versu qui tamen ipse non in omni editione reperitur significans Aiacem naves suas Atheniensibus iunxisse.* Diog. Laert. i. 2. 48 ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ καὶ ἐγγράψαι αὐτὸν [τὸν Σόλωνα] εἰς τὸν κατάλογον τοῦ Ὀμήρου μετὰ τὸν

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας

[τὸν]

στήσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

These mentions of Megara and Megarean authorities (and those which follow) make Ritschl's supplement in the passage Diog. Laert. i. 2. 57, quoted p. 227, practically certain: viz. *μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων Ὀμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισίστρατος [ὅσπερ συλλέξας τὰ Ὀμήρου ἐνεποίησέ τινα εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν]* ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν ἐ' Μεγαρικῶν. ἦν δὲ μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα· οὐ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Here *συλλέξας* is not absolutely required by *ἐφώτισε*, *ἐνεποίησε* is required.

An Athenian family, the Philaidae, to which Miltiades and Thucydides belonged, traced its descent to Ajax (see the passages¹ in Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.* 269 sqq. I do not accept his inferences). It is possible that the insertion of

¹ Herod. vi. 35, Pherecydes, fr. 20 (with genealogy), Plutarch, *Solon*, 10, *Hellanicus*, ἐν Ἀσωπίῳ, fr. 14.

B 558 had some connexion with them, e.g. to confirm their genealogy, or the view that Philaios presented Salamis to Athens, Paus. i. 35. 2. Then according to analogy (e.g. *B* 562 sqq. from Hesiod) we must suppose the line originally occurring in the Hesiodic Catalogoi in the account of Ajax, and thence escaping into some copies of Homer. The Philaidae being forgotten by later and non-Athenian antiquaries, and Pisistratus remaining in the historical imagination, he was credited with the line which served his enemies' interests. Pisistratus was born in the deme Philaidae, if this is what Plutarch, *Solon* 10, means by *δῆμον ἐπώνυμον Φιλαίου τῶν Φιλαιδῶν ἔχουσιν ὅθεν ἦν Πεισίστρατος*, but he would not have gone out of his way to flatter his enemies, and was himself a Neleid. Further, the phyle *Αἰαντίς* was founded by Clisthenes, who included Ajax among the eponymous heroes *ἄτε ἀστυγείτονα καὶ σύμμαχον* although a foreigner (Herod. v. 66): the words *καὶ σύμμαχον* imply *B* 558, for otherwise why was Ajax an ally more than any other hero? Clisthenes would not have used a line inserted and manufactured by the tyrant. It was therefore in the text long before; and, as above, escaped into it at an early period from Hesiod, whose post-Dorian poem was largely taken up with the adjustment of actual politics and families to the heroic age.¹

The Acamantidae (the phyle? or descendants of Acamas?) found verses in Homer to establish the presence of Acamas at Troy (*Ίλιu persis*, fr. iv): by what means did they make this assertion?

(ii) *B* 573 *οἷ θ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπείνῃν Γονόεσσαν*. Pisistratus or one of his friends unwittingly wrote *Γονόεσσαν* for *Δονόεσσαν*, according to Pausanias vii. 26. 13, quoted p. 229.

¹ Other signs of connexion between Megara and Salamis are the temple of Ὑθρηᾶ Αἰαντίς in Megara and Pausanias' explanation of the epithet (i. 42. 4) ἐγὼ δὲ ὅποια νομίζω γενέσθαι γράφω. Τελαμῶν ὁ Αἰακοῦ θυγατρὶ Ἀλκᾶθου [king of Megara] Περιβοία συνῴκησεν. Αἶαντα οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀλκᾶθου διαδεξάμενον ποιῆσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἡγοῦμαι τῆς Ὑθρηᾶς.

(iii) λ 631 :

Plut. *Thes.* 20 πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔτι λέγονται καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀριάδνης οὐδὲν ὁμολογούμενον ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπάγξασθαι φασιν αὐτὴν ἀπολειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θησέως, οἱ δ' εἰς Νάξον ὑπὸ ναυτῶν κομισθεῖσαν Οἰνάρῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διονύσου συννοικεῖν, ἀπολειφθῆναι δὲ τοῦ Θησέως ἐρῶντος ἐτέρας,

δεινὸς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηίδος Αἴγλης

(Hes. fr. 105).

τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔπος ἐκ τῶν Ἑσιόδου Πεισίστρατον ἐξελεῖν φησιν Ἑρέας ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου νέκυιαν τὸ

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα (λ 631)

χαριζόμενον Ἀθηναίοις.

Hereas deals with Theseus, again ib. xxxii.

(iv) K of the *Iliad*. schol. T ad init. φασὶ τὴν ῥαψωδίαν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου ἰδίᾳ τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποίησιν.

(v) λ 602-4 :

εἶδωλον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃ καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην
παῖδα Διὸς μεγάλου καὶ Ἥρης χρυσοπεδῖλου

were added by Onomacritus, an ἐταῖρος of Pisistratus: ἀθετοῦνται καὶ λέγονται Ὀνομακρίτου εἶναι, schol. ad loc. (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 950 sqq.).

(vi) Ox. Pap. 412. Julius Africanus, after quoting seven lines as Homeric which end with λ 51, says: εἴτ' οὖν οὕτως ἔχον αὐτὸς ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ περίεργον τῆς ἐπιρρήσεως τὰ ἄλλα διὰ τὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀξίωμα σεσιώπηκεν, εἴθ' οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι τὰ ἄλλα συνράπτοντες ἔπη ταῦτα ἀπέσχισαν, ἀλλότρια τοῦ στοίχου τῆς ποιήσεως ἐκείνα ἐπικρίναντες, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνώκατε κύημα πολυτελέστερον. Here the commission has advanced to the position of the Alexandrines and extirpates verses on their merits. So Tzetzes, quoted p. 233, invented a Pisistratean Aristarchus and Zenodotus.

II

This is the evidence upon which Pisistratus is believed nowadays to have constructed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* out of lays or earlier poetical material; to have separated these poems from the mass of heroic verse; to have given them an Athenian colour by the operations of excision, interpolation, and the like. As I have said, such an assertion is incompatible with the date which I have endeavoured to give the Cycle, and the inference I draw from that date to Homer's. I will however add two more arguments of a general nature before I explain the genesis of the legend.

(i) The poems, and especially the *Catalogue*, are said to have been made use of on several occasions as historical evidence.

Herodotus informs us, v. 94, that in the dispute between Athens and Mytilene for the possession of Sigeion, the Athenians relied for a title upon their participation in the Trojan War: ἀποδεικνύντες λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰολεῦσι μετεδόν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χώρας ἢ οὐ καὶ σφίσι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων συνεπρήξαντο Μενελέῳ τὰς Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὰς. Herodotus represents these events as taking place in the reign of Pisistratus. If this were the case, the Athenians put forward the passages in the *Iliad* which, according to modern criticism, had been inserted by their sovereign, and more than that, appealed to a document compiled at Athens out of loose lays, and even written down there for the first time. This would be a very curious title to rely upon in any period of International Law, and the Lesbians would have had a plain answer to give. If, on the other hand, we believe with modern historians (e.g. Lehmann-Haupt, *Solon*, p. 50, n. 13) that the events in question took place a generation earlier, i.e. about 600 B.C., then the Athenian entry in the *Catalogue* is seen to have been appealed to about the time that Pisistratus was getting born. It was not fabricated by him at least.

If it were advanced that, notwithstanding other difficulties, people in the sixth century were simple and

unacquainted with fraud—a supposition quite gratuitous in itself—we have the curious instance of Onomacritus to the contrary. Onomacritus, entrusted with the custody of the Pisistratean *corpus* of oracles (Herod. vii. 6), added one thereto upon the disappearance of Lemnos. Tradition does not give the intention of the forgery (v. Macan ad loc.), but it can hardly have been other than political, and connected with Athenian designs upon the Hellespont. He was detected in this fraud by Lasos, a professional brother, and banished. If such a comparatively venial crime was both detected and punished, how could Pisistratus' supposed operations on the Homeric text (which must have been carried out through this expert and his colleagues¹) have escaped notice, and how could such a falsified witness have been produced in international matters?

For it was again appealed to in the generation after Hipparchus, when before Gelo (Herod. vii. 161) the Athenians claimed naval precedence on the ground that their leader at Troy was distinguished for his skill at moving bodies of men. This, of course, is a direct allusion to the most patent of Athenian interpolations, *B* 552–5, athetized (though not on this ground) by Zenodotus.² The Syracusans, who had known the Ionic poet for two hundred years since Cynaethus imported him, must have smiled at the Athenian version of the *libro d'oro*, and at their shamelessness in quoting it. And even when the unhappy Phocians in the fourth century based their claim to Apollo's treasury on another entry in the *Catalogue*, though their impiety was abominated, their document was not attacked. Yet the fourth century is the century of Dieuchidas, and perhaps of Hereas also, who charged Pisistratus with adapting the *Catalogue* to his country's interest. A docu-

¹ As is stated of λ 602–4; cf. p. 238.

² It was taken to mean that Menestheus was the best manœuvrer on the Greek side; so Xen. *Cyneg.* i. 12, Dictys ii. 36, Philostratus, *Heroic.* 299. The Athenians over-interpreted the entry. He was exalted into a Palamedes. As an Athenian he pronounced an ἐπιτάφιος over Ajax, Philostr. ib. 315. See Appendix, p. 328.

ment appealed to in inter-State matters from the seventh to the fourth century must have been safe from alteration by interested parties. It must have been what we call canonical. This is a long way from interpolating, compiling, and writing down the *Iliad* in Pisistratus' chanceries.

(ii) Pisistratus having composed, edited, and interpolated Homer, it follows that the actual poems contain his interpolations. The ancients detected *K*, *B* 558 and a few more lines (see pp. 234 sqq.); the moderns, with perfect consistency and larger views, have seen further, and the present state of opinion is practically that all mentions of Athens, Athena, Attica, and Athenians are interpolated.

It is difficult to understand the mental attitude of German critics and their English followers. Do they understand what interpolation means? Interpolation of a document, alteration of a legend, like all conscious human action, is dictated by motive—by the motive of your own honour, glory, or profit. You do not finger documents and colour legends for the fun of the thing. Let us take an example or two. The oldest version of Apollo's invasion of Greece made him alight on land opposite to Chalcis and proceed along the later 'pilgrims' way' to Delphi. The Theban Pindar set him down at Tanagra, the Athenian Aeschylus landed him direct at Piraeus. In the pro-Athenian Dares of Phrygia Agamemnon collects his fleet not in Boeotian Aulis, but at the port of Athens; Menestheus is allowed to wound Hector; Clitodemus, fr. 12, Agamemnon returned with the Palladium to Athens, where Demophon stole it; Phanodemus, fr. 12, the Argives landed at Phalerum. There are signs that the Athenians were discontented with Homer as he stands; the absence of the children of Theseus at Troy stuck in their throats. The Athenian tribe Acamantidae asserted that Homer said Acamas was really at Troy (Demosth. *Epitaph.* 29); we do not know if they aspired to alter the *Iliad*, or were content with a place in the *Cypria*. Euripides (*Iph. Aul.* 248), with some tact, disguised the Athenian leader as ὁ Θησέως παῖς,

but ejected Menestheus whom the envoys vaunted to Gelo, and increased the Athenian contingent by ten at the expense of Argos. The awkward Menestheus was got rid of, we do not know by whom (Eusebius, *Canon*. p. 128), by being made to die at Melos on his nostos. The Cycle had already allowed Demophon and Acamas to be present at Troy, probably as private combatants. These are cases of proved interference with history, for intelligible reasons, if without success so far as the Homeric text is concerned.¹

If we now look at the Pisistratean Homer—that is to say, the text which we possess—compiled, copied, edited, and interpolated by Pisistratus and his board of experts, where are the signs of the Athenian interests served by all this apparatus? I can be shorter here because the subject has received the attention of Professor John A. Scott ('Athenian Interpolations in Homer', *Classical Philology*, 1911, pp. 419 sqq., 1914, 395 sqq., and *Unity of Homer*, 47 sqq.). I will first ask what we should expect to find in the Attic Homer, next what we do find. In an ancient historical document edited in the interest of a given community we expect to find (a) the community in a front position at the supposed time of the action in question; (b) forecasts, prophecies, visions, oracles, and other anachronistic allusions to the actual position of the community. Athenian tragedy is shameless in these respects (like Shakespeare). Hesiod and the Cycle yielded to the pressure of their times.² Now under the first head it is plain that the position of Athens is not at all prominent or important in the heroic age as described by Homer. The armament starts from Aulis, not from Piraeus or Phalerum. Menestheus, the leader of the contingent, is not a first-class hero, and practically gets no mention. The size of the contingent (50) is half-way between Agamemnon (100) and Nireus (3). Attica occupies a position slightly better than

¹ Yet one of Euripides' new numbers—the contingent from Dodona—did get into one papyrus (see on B 748).

² Hesiod let in Megara, fr. 96. 8; the *Nóστοι* admitted Colophon. The Tauri appear in the *Cypria*, the island Leuce appears in the *Aethiopis*.

that of the Locrians or the Eleans; it is behind Arcadia, and on a level with Thebes. In book *N* it is one among several weak contingents; inferentially it bore the Ionian name, but the word slips in without emphasis and clearly without glory. This is not the result of political tampering with a document. It is not a heraldic past.¹

If we ask what the Athenians would have done to Homer had they edited him, the most obvious prophecy which we should have expected to find is that of the colonization of Asia in any of its aspects (founders, struggles with natives, &c.), and especially as having proceeded from Athens. The Ionians in whose hands Homer was at his beginning and for several centuries considered Athens their mother. Solon calls Athens the oldest land of *'Iaovía*; in his day this relation to Ionia was Athens' whole political past, all she could point to besides Menestheus. She claimed, as the epigram quoted p. 230 shows, that the Ionians who settled Smyrna were Athenians. If she thought this entry in the *Catalogue* enough to justify her claim to Sigeion, what would she not have inferred from a forecast of the hearth from which the Ionian settlers started? And if she could interpolate Homer, so as to insert Menestheus and Erechtheus, why did she not insert this essential title? Some reference to Aegina also might have been expected. Other allusions we should have found are detailed by Mr. Scott, a portion of whose list I venture to reproduce.²

¹ Yet *N* is considered a self-evident Athenian interpolation. I venture to repeat my remarks of 1906 (*Classical Review* xx, p. 194): 'the intangibility of the *Catalogue* is most strikingly shown by the insignificant position of Athens. Modern opinion has allowed itself to be dominated by the idle legends of lines added here and there by Pisistratus and others; even these legends betray the all but total absence of such attempts, and their ill success. The Athenians in Homer appear as the unimportant tribe they were; . . . brigaded with leavings and effeminate peoples, Locrians, Epeans—bowmen who did not wear armour, and whose position was defined as "opposite Euboea". If the *διάκοσμος* is a conglomerate, why did not the Athenians, in whose hands the text is supposed to have lain, and may have lain, give themselves a better place?'

² *l. c.*, p. 427. 'Oedipus died at Thebes, Ψ 679, quite contrary to Attic tradition; Tydeus was buried at Thebes, Ξ 114, while the Athenians

The position of Athens in the poems appears to correspond to her actual position in the heroic age. Attica we know was inhabited in the Mycenaean period, not only the hill of Athens but the country districts. Its oil, coastline, and perhaps mines must have given it a substantial if undistinguished position in the Mycenaean world. No reason can be given why Athena should not have been worshipped in her name-town (among other places): Erechtheus is a pre-Olympian, one of the early daimones in favour with some historians of religion. He is therefore a valuable survival, not an addition.

No more chicken-hearted scheme of aggrandizement was ever carried out by a monarch and his advisers. If the legend was due, as we shall see, to the malevolence of the ancients, it owes its continuance to the thoughtlessness of the modern historian.¹

We have now seen that the manufacture or compilation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by Pisistratus or any one else of his period is inconsistent with the date of the Epic Cycle;

prided themselves on his burial at Eleusis; Philomela is the daughter of Pandareus, τ 518, not of the Athenian Pandion; B 107 shows no traces of the strife between Atreus and Thyestes; Π 718, Hecuba is daughter of Dymas, in Attic tradition of Cisseus; H 392 and N 626 seem to show that Homer knew nothing of the relations existing between Theseus and Helen before her marriage with Menelaus; γ 307, Orestes returns to his home from Phocis, not from Athens; I 145 gives names for the daughters of Agamemnon different from the names given by the Athenians. . . . Bellerophon has no help from Pegasus, and Cassandra is no prophetess.

. . . Is it reasonable to suppose that the Athenians had such control of these poems as to insert Pisistratus and to glorify Athena, yet never took the pains to reshape these traditions, so easily changed?

¹ The particular passages which have been detected as Athenian interpolations are discussed by Professor Scott. I will only add that if Pisistratus proved his descent from Nestor by the obscure expedient of inserting the journey of Telemachus (and Pisistratus) to Sparta, then the entry about the Lapiths in the *Catalogue*, and doubtless the mention of the whole barony is the work of Periander. But the Neleidae of the colonization may be relied upon to have seen to the preservation of their pedigree centuries before Pisistratus appeared upon the scene. Moreover, Pisistratus, son of Nestor, did not come to Athens with the other Neleidae (Paus. ii. 18. 9), and the Alceonidae who according to the same authority were Neleidae are not accused of having interfered with the Homeric text.

that the editing or interpolation of the poems by him is inconceivable in view of the use made of them in international law; and that the position given to Athens in Homer is correct and historical, whereas interpolation in the national interest must have made that position quite different; and finally that the ascertainable efforts at interpolation were few and unsuccessful. We therefore conclude that Homer was canonical and intangible before the sixth century.

We have next to explain how the Pisistratus legend arose. If it is so evidently at issue with the truth, how do we account for its existence?

This question may be answered at once and without mystery. The whole legend, saving the statements about the recitation at the Panathenaea, was fabricated by Megarian antiquaries. This was seen by Flach., *l. c.*, pp. 27 sqq., and I put it as clearly as I could in the *Classical Review*, 1907, p. 18.

Megara lost Salamis to Athens in the time of Pisistratus; she was despised and oppressed by Athens throughout the next century. No material revenge was possible to her. She did what she could by slander and misrepresentation. Thus, as Aristotle tells us, she claimed to be the mother of the comedy which had said such hard things about her. She wished, like many other states, to get herself a position in the heroic age. The 'Megarians', says Strabo 394, offered as the original version of the list of Ajax's forces the lines:

ἔκ τε Πολίχνης
ἔκ τ' Αἰγειρούσης Νισαίης τε Τριπόδων τε

ἃ ἔστι χωρία Μεγαρικά.

They accused Pisistratus of expelling these lines. A more definite source, Hereas of Megara (*F. H. G.* iv. 426, 7), appears in Plutarch, *Theseus* 20, for Pisistratus' removal of fr. 105 from Hesiod, and his insertion of λ 631 into the *Odyssey* (χαριζόμενον Ἀθηναίοις). Dieuchidas (*F. H. G.* iv. 388) is agreed to be another authority for the legend of the

insertion of *B* 568 (see p. 236). A thorough-going Dorian, he also claimed ἀγυιεύς and the bones of Adrastus (fr. 2 and 3). Megarian writers (*Μεγαρόθεν συγγραφείς*) took away the credit of Theseus' feat in killing Sciron. Sciron, who was of course a Megarian, was no brigand, but an honest man. Theseus' deed was mere murder, not a public service (Plut. *Thes.* 10). Philochorus, fr. 42, had explained Athena's title of Σκιράς as from one Scirus of Eleusis; Praxion ἐν β' *Μεγαρικῶν* (*F. H. G.* iv. 483) referred it to the Megarian Sciron. Natural jealousy and hereditary dislike account for these accusations and polemics, and dislike of Athens was not limited to Megara. Daphidas of Telmisa, a grammarian of the time of Attalus and probably of the Pergamene school, charged Homer himself with falsehood: Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον. (Suidas s. v. Δαφίδας.) He also held Pisistratus inserted the whole passage. Athens' enemies would not allow her even a contingent.

The Megarians, then, full of prejudices and determined to make their way into the heroic age, declared statements in Homer which hindered their claim and exalted their neighbours to be false. They did not succeed in their claim, but by one means or another they did keep the offending line *B* 558 out of the minority of MSS., and we find them seated within the less canonical Hesiod (fr. 96, 8). They took as a scapegoat Pisistratus. 'Pisistratus undertook the character of forger, an embodied τῆς.' That he did so is plain, but the reason the Megarians had for pitching on him more than another had not been clear. This perhaps admits of an explanation.

Pisistratus, who to us and in ordinary Athenian literature is a statesman and despot, at best a patron—another Polycrates or Gelo—bore another character in some ancient paths of opinion. He was regarded as a philosopher; he competed, not without success, for one of the seven chairs of the Sages, and a work by him was held to lurk under the name of a rival Sage. Diogenes in his preface says (13)

τούτοις προσαριθμοῦσιν Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην, Μύσωνα τὸν Χηνέα, Φερεκύδην τὸν Σύριον, Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν τύραννον. He uses similarly vague language i. 108, and Hermippus who wrote *περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν* (viii. 88) lends no countenance to Pisistratus; the best authority for the legend is Aristoxenus, who repeats it again without definite origin: i. 108 *φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος [ἐν τοῖς σποράδην, fr. 89] ὅτι ἔνθεν καὶ ἄδοξος ἦν* (sc Myson) *ὅτι μηδὲ πόλεως ἀλλὰ κώμης, καὶ ταῦτα ἀφανοῦς. ὅθεν διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ τινὰς Πεισιστράτῳ περιθεῖναι τῷ τυράννῳ.* The two statements, that Pisistratus took Myson's seat among the Seven and published a book under his name, or at all events was the author of Myson's book, evidently go back to the same sources, legends which Aristoxenus recognized—that is to say, to the fourth century. There is more than this. Pisistratus founded the first public library, according to Athenaeus 3 a, and Gellius vii. 17 makes him a book-collector. This assertion naturally hails from Pergamos, and Pisistratus again takes the wind out of Ptolemy's sails. Who is responsible for the next I do not know, but in the scholia to the *Peace* 1071 on the word *Βάκισ* we read *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπίθετον Πεισιστράτου.* It is difficult to see what *Πεισίστρατος ὁ Βάκισ* can have been intended to mean except that Pisistratus himself was the author of part at least of the corpus of oracles which was among his *instrumentu regni*.

There was, therefore, as early as the fourth century what we may call a Pisistratean mythology in existence, according to which he was a philosopher, a writer under an assumed name, and an oracle-poet. These traditions were accepted at a later period by the grammarians of Pergamos, who saw in this versatile monarch a rival to the founder of their enemies' Museum.

When the fourth-century Megarian antiquaries set about to manufacture a pedigree for their country, and were estopped by the silence of Homer, and alleged the falsifica-

tion of that authority, they found the falsifier in the Athenian monarch in whose period Salamis had been taken from them, and about whom already a mist of tradition had begun to gather. The despot had been brought down to the world of the pen; the pseudo-Myson and the pseudo-Bakis would have no difficulty in editing an entry in the *Catalogue of Ships*. As the monarch Pisistratus took Salamis, Pisistratus the sage, writer, and poet forged his title.¹

¹ The patriotic activity of these Megarians suggests to me a consideration with regard to Theognis. The current hypotheses as to the origin of the actual poems appear to me all incredible, even after the careful account of Professor Hudson Williams. On the other hand, there are certainly difficulties in the way of believing the verses to have come as they stand from the hand of their author, enormously exaggerated as these difficulties are. Moreover, we have to account for the paradox that Theognis, a reactionary Megarian *émigré*, should have survived while Solon, father of the Athenian democracy, Moses, poet and merchant, instinct with all the qualities which Professor Lehmann-Haupt has given him, a source for history and wisdom, and constantly quoted, has undoubtedly perished, and never a papyrus has brought a line of him, save as a quotation, to light. It occurs to me that the idea of a patriotic or Megarian origin of the edition has not yet been considered. Patriotism sticks at nothing; the indisputable poetical merits of Theognis (Solon had those of our own Tupper) may have suggested to these Irelands in a good cause to fortify him by incorporating bits in the same vein from other elegiacs. If they attempted this they succeeded.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY QUOTATIONS

THE remaining portion of the transmission of Homer consists in the consideration of the character of the text of the poems in those centuries where we possess information, and the account of the origin and nature of the text which was reproduced during the Eastern Empire and eventually handed to the first printer at Florence. Various categories of evidence bear upon these questions: the quotations of Homer in the classical period; this is the matter of the present chapter: the editions referred to by name; the papyri: these are dealt with in chapter xii. In chapter xiii an attempt is made to draw a conclusion.

In chapter ix I gave an analytical classification of the changes which affected the text of Homer. We have now to show how and to what extent these changes operated in different centuries, and what was the relation between the different kinds of texts produced by these influences. In particular we have to explain the survival of a text of medium length, which from the fact of its predominance after a certain period and its existence now we call Vulgate, and the extinction of longer and shorter texts.

The earliest kind of evidence is that of quotations, which play, *mutatis mutandis*, the same part in Homer as they do in the textual history of the N. T.

The Homeric quotations, while they are by nature as capricious as the survivals of papyrus, have one advantage, they are dated. The weakness of statements about early editions (see chapter xii) is that the editions, except those composed by individuals, are vague and timeless. Plato and Aeschines are at all events substantial and dated witnesses.

A complete collection of Homeric quotations has not yet been made. Ludwich's two works are indispensable: *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinisch erwiesen*, 1898, pp. 71–132, which contains the material down to 300 B. C., and his Königsberg program *Ueber Homercitate aus der Zeit von Aristarch bis Didymos*, 1897.

Quotations of Homer begin with Herodotus. Poets from the nature of the case do not quote, and if they did all literature after the epic period, prose or poetry, is lost with the exception of Theognis. The surprise of the Victorian critics at finding no mention of Homer before 500 B. C. was simple-minded. If the s. vii–vi literature had survived there would have been found abundant allusions to him, to judge from the easy way in which these poets comment on each other and on their predecessors, and the frequency with which Pindar, even in what of him has survived, refers to Homer.¹ Pindar once comes near to a quotation, *Pyth.* iv. 277, but it is a paraphrase. Simonides, fr. 85, actually quotes *Z* 146, but we gain nothing thereby. The inscription in honour of Cimon (Aesch. *in Ctes.* 185, Plutarch, *vit. Cim.* 7) literally quotes *B* 552–4, without variant.

Herodotus alludes to Homer by name eight times.² In four places he quotes him: ii. 116 = *B* 289–92 without variant, addition, or omission; ib. = δ 227–30 and 351–2 without variant: iv. 29 = 885 ($\delta\theta\iota$ for $\dot{\iota}\nu\alpha$ with a minority of MSS.). He does not add or subtract lines. The total number of verses quoted is only eleven.

¹ Allusions to Homer are Hesiod, fr. 265; Callinus (s. vii), fr. 6; a parody in Hipponax, fr. 85; Simonides, fr. 53. Callinus refers to the *Thebais*, Simonides to the Cycle (perhaps also to the *Thebais*). Asius of Samos (s. vi, *P. L. G.* ii. 23) has a parody on Homeric biography, Pindar, fr. 264, alludes to it. Other references in Pindar are *Nem.* vii. 21, *Isthm.* iii. 55, Paean vii, fr. 17. 1. Cf. Bacchylides, fr. 48. Of other authors we find the following quotations (or references to them) in literature now extant in quotations: Stesichorus in Simonides, fr. 53, Cleobulus, fr. 57, Pittacus, fr. 5. 8, 9, Aeson, fr. 215; Xanthus in Stesichorus, fr. 57; Mimnermus in Hipponax, fr. 96; Pytherrmus in Ananias, fr. 2; Hesiod in Simonides Amorg., fr. 6; the Margites in Archilochus, fr. 153; Mimnermus in Solon, fr. 20.

² For his criticism of the authenticity of the *Cypria* and the *Epigoni* see p. 131.

Thucydides (i. 9. 4) quotes one line (B 108) and, iii. 104, several ἐν προοιμίῳ Ἀπόλλωνος.

Aristophanes—a comic poet can approach to quotation—has some allusions in the *Peace*: vv. 1090–3 he constructs an oracle containing the word ἀπωσάμενοι and the phrases αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχχ' ἐπάσαντο, ἔσπενδον δεπάεσσιν (), ἐγὼ δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευον ();¹ 1097, 1098 he quotes as Homer's I 63, 64 without variant; 1269 sqq. Lamachus' child repeats hexameter verses without author's name; 1269 is identified by the scholiast with the first line of the *Erigoni* (this shows that Aristophanes shared Thucydides' opinion of the Homeric canon); 1273, 1274 is a combination of Γ 15, Δ 446–50, Θ 60–4 unless the *Erigoni* continues, a possibility which must be admitted; 1282, 1283

ὧς οἱ μὲν δαίνυντο βοῶν κρέα καυχένας ἵππων
ἐκλυον ἰδρώοντας ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἐκόρεσθην.

This couplet recurs in the *Certamen*, 107, 108,² and according to the laws of that composition 1282 is Hesiodic; this is perhaps made probable by the crasis (the *Certamen* reads δεῖπνον ἔπειθ' ἔλλοντο at the beginning); 1283 is unhomeric and may therefore belong to a fuller text or be Cyclic; 1286, 1287

θωρήσσοντ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πεπαυμένοι [εἰλαπινάων?]
πύργων δ' ἐξεχέοντο βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει.

1286 is unhomeric; 1287 is composed of Δ 500, Π 259, 267. *Birds* 575 Ἴριν δέ γ' Ὀμηρος ἔφασκ' ἰκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελείῃ is only true of h. Apoll. 114, as the scholiast saw.

So from Aristophanes we gather that he admitted as Homeric the Cycle and the Hymns, as the fifth century did; and that he may have quoted lines no longer in our texts (*Peace* 1283, 1286, but the latter may well be Cyclic).

Democritus, § 101 Diels: Aristot. *de An.* 404 a 25 ὁμοίως

¹ ἀστείως πάνυ παρέπλεξε τὰ Ὀμήρου, says the scholiast.

² See *ante*, p. 24.

δὲ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ψυχὴν εἶναι λέγει τὴν κινουσαν, καὶ εἴ
τις ἄλλος εἴρηκεν ὥς τὸ πᾶν ἐκίνησε νοῦς, οὐ μὴν παντελῶς
γ' ὥσπερ Δημόκριτος· ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ταῦτ' ὄν ψυχὴν
καὶ νοῦν· τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον· διὸ καλῶς
ποιῆσαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ὥς

Ἔκτωρ κεῖτ' ἄλλοφρονέων.

id. *Metaph.* 1009 b 25 Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ καὶ ἀπόφθεγμα
μνημονεύεται πρὸς τῶν ἐταίρων τινὰς ὅτι τοιαῦτ' αὐτοῖς
ἔσται τὰ ὄντα οἶα ἂν ὑπολάβωσιν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον
ταύτην ἔχοντα φαίνεσθαι τὴν δόξαν ὅτι ἐποίησε τὸν Ἔκτορα
ὥς ἐξέστη ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς κεῖσθαι ἄλλοφρονέοντα, ὥς φρο-
νοῦντας μὲν καὶ τοὺς παραφρονοῦντας ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτά.

The word ἄλλοφρονέων is used of Euryalus after his
knock-out, Ψ 698. The mention of Hector and his stroke
seems to tie the present reference to the *Iliad*. Hector
faints, Δ 354 sqq., and as 356 was omitted by Zenodotus
and athetized by Aristarchus this may have been an
alternative. He faints again, Ξ 409 sqq. Here v. 420 is
omitted by two papyri and many minuscules. A descrip-
tion of Hector's dazed condition may have stood here.

Democritus is said to have been born in 460 B. C.

The Ionic writer Hippocrates makes very little use
of Homer; περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολῆς 8 he says καλῶς γὰρ
Ὅμηρος καταμεμάθηκε ὅτι πάντων τῶν προβάτων βόες
μάλιστα ἀτονέουσι ταύτην τὴν ὥραν, καὶ βοῶν οἱ ἀρόται, ὅτι
τὸν χειμῶνα ἐργάζονται. τούτοισι τοίνυν καὶ ἐκπίπτει
μάλιστα οὔτοι γὰρ μάλιστα λεπτύνονται . . . διὰ τοῦτο οὖν
ἐποίησεν τάδε τὰ ἔπη·

ὥς δ' ὁπότε ἄσπασιον ἔαρ ἤλυθε βουσὶν ἔλιξιν

ὅτι ἀσμενωτάτῃ αὐτοῖσιν ἡ βαθεῖα ποίη φαίνεται. (The
version in the *Μοχλικόν* 5 omits the quotation.) This, as
a simile, may have stood in one copy and not in another.
Cf. ψ 233 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄσπασιος γῇ νηχομένοισι φανήη.

The evidence of the fifth century is subject to two
reservations. (1) It is very small: Herodotus yields
11 lines, Thucydides 1, Hippocrates 1. Quotations do

not become available for conclusions till they run to some length. Whether the λογογράφοι and *mémoristes*, had they survived, would have had more we cannot tell. The fact that in 11 lines chosen from different parts of Homer Herodotus adds none does not prove the same result had he quoted 100 continuously. (2) Much allowance must be made for Aristophanes' conventions. It is unlikely he was really casual, given the pains he took over the *Clouds* and all his parodies of Euripides: his art demanded an appearance of carelessness.

We therefore conclude that Herodotus and Thucydides afford no evidence at all. Aristophanes and Hippocrates admit the existence of longer texts, though their evidence is prejudiced by their evident acceptance of the Cycle and Hymns as Homeric.

The fourth century produces more abundant evidence. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* i. 2. 56, omits *B* 192-7, one might be inclined to say intentionally; but the omission agrees with Aristarchus' athetesis of these lines, and the coincidence cannot be overlooked. The lines are dispensable (and must have been a fourth-fifth century addition). Xenophon's other variants are verbal (*Ψ* 335, *μ* 184) except *Sympos.* viii. 30, where he cites two Homeric phrases with their interpretations: καὶ ἐγὼ δέ φημι καὶ Γανυμήδην οὐ σώματος ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἕνεκα ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς Ὀλυμπον ἀνενεχθῆναι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δῆπου καὶ Ὀμήρῳ

γάννυται δέ τ' ἀκούων,

τοῦτο δὲ φράζει ὅτι ἴδεται δέ τ' ἀκούων, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι
που

πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδώς,

τοῦτο δ' αὖ λέγει σοφὰ φρεσὶ βουλευμάτα εἰδώς. Neither of these phrases occurs exactly in Homer, though there are close resemblances: γάννυται δέ τε τοῖς ἐνοσίχθων, *Υ* 405; γάννυται δ' ἄρα τε φρένα ποιμήν, *N* 493 (ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων, *A* 474, is equivalent in sense, but the argument requires γάνυσθαι), and πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μῆδέ' ἔχοντες, *Ω* 282, 674; φίλα φρεσὶ μῆδεα

εἰδώς, *P* 325; but the fact that it is sought to etymologize *Γανυμήδης* and the precise method of citation, the phrase and the paraphrase—which even suggest quotation from a glossary¹—forbids us to suppose a confusion of memory. We are therefore in the same position as in the cases of Aristophanes and Hippocrates, of choice between allusion to the Cycle or use of an amplified text of Homer.

Plato, in the numerous passages where he quotes Homer, has many and striking verbal variants:² one of them, *πῆμα* for *κῆρα*, *Ω* 82, agrees with *ἔνιαι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις*. This resembles Aeschines' variant on *Ψ* 77. Plato has many larger variants, but his art and the designed carelessness of Socrates make him as doubtful a witness as Aristophanes. We must take account of all possibilities.

(1) *Δ* 218 (*Rep.* 408 A)

αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσαντ' ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακ' ἔπασσον

for *αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδώς* (219 *πάσσε*).

This, which is slightly supported by *Plut. vit. Hom.* ii. 211 (*φάρμακα πάσσε*), suggests an omission of 219, which is dispensable. The dual in 218 is only possible without 219; this verse then is an addition Cf. *E* 900, *πάσσων* or *πάσσειν*.

(2) *Δ* 429 (ib. 389 E)

ἴσαν μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοὶ σιγῇ δειδότες σημάτωντας

for 429 *ἡγεμόνων· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν οὐδέ κε φαίης,*

430 *τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεσθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν στήθεσιν αὐδὴν.*

Perhaps a contamination, as Ludwig says of 431, with *Γ* 8

οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,

but we can construct a shorter version in *Δ*

¹ *Γάνυται* and *μήδεα* resemble *κύρυμβα* and *ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα*, *Ar. Daitales*, fr. 222 K. Cf. also 'Glossographi' in Bekker's index to the schol. II., and Demosthenes' exposition of laws in the *Aristocratea*.

² *I* 310, 314 (*Hipp. min.* 365 A), 357 (ib. 370 B), 499 (*Rep.* 364 D), 653, 4 (ib. 371 B), A 640 (*Ion* 538 c), M 206, 7 (ib. 539 B), Π 433 (*Rep.* 388 c), 857 (ib. 386 D), P 446 (*Axiach.* 367 D), T 92 (*Sympos.* 195 D), X 168 (*Rep.* 388 c), 507 (*Crat.* 392 E), Ψ 335 (*Ion* 537 A), 339 (ib. 537 B), Ω 80-2 (*Ion* 538 D), 528 (*Rep.* 379 D).

κέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἕκαστος
[ἀνδράσιν· οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν] μένεα πνεύοντες Ἀχαιοὶ
σιγῇ δειδιότες σημάτωντορας· κτλ.,

i. e. the parenthesis οὐδέ . . . αὐδὴν, which is dispensable, and an amplification of σιγῇ δειδιότες, would be omitted.

(3) Θ 548, 550-2 added *Alcib.* ii. 149 D as prose. Barnes' restoration of hexameters admits of no doubt and there is no question of contamination, though the lines have a Homeric ring. They are dispensable, like many in the last hundred lines of this book: 466-8 om. vulg., 475, 476 ath. Ar., 493-6 om. Zen., 528 om. Zen., ath. Ar., 535-7 om. Zen., ath. Ar., 538, 539, 541 ath. Ar., 540 om. Ar. (uv.), 557, 558 om. Zen., ath. Ar. Aph. Plato seems to have used a still more hospitable copy. Cf. the additions to this book of p 7 (p. 189).

(4) I 308 sqq. (*Hipp. min.* 365 A)

311 ὥς μή μοι τρύξετε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος om. Plato. This also is dispensable. Τρύξειν is ἄπ. λεγ. for Homer.

(5) I 497-501 (*Rep.* 364 D)

498 τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε om. Plato. It is dispensable.

(6) Ω 12 (*Rep.* 388 A)

πλωίζοντ' ἀλύοντ' ἐπὶ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο
for δινεύεσκ' ἀλύων παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς οὐδέ μιν ἥως κτλ.

We can hardly put πλωίζοντ' down to an error of Plato's memory (if his memory had any errors!). The word is in this form unhomeric, but we have δακρυπλώειν, τ 122, of weeping at the eyes, Herod. iii. 155, vi. 12 ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν, which would make it a synonym of ἀλύων. Plato read πλωίζων τ' ἀλύων τ' ἐπὶ θῖν' ἀλός. This implies a new verse, Ω 11 a, containing a verb taking ἐπί. The form in the rival version δινεύεσκε is ἄπ. λεγ., though δινεύειν is common. Both lines 12, 13 are dispensable, and 6-9 were athetized by Aristoph. Ar.

(7) τ 110 ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἰφθίμοισιν ἀνάσσω
om. *Rep.* 363 B.

Dispensable. Later authors (Plutarch, Themistius, and perhaps Philodemus) also omit it, but perhaps quoting Plato.

(8) υ 354 αἵματι δ' ἐρράδαται τοῖχοι καλαί τε μεσόδμαι
om. *Ion* 539 A.

Dispensable: the same expressions τ 37.

(9) *Gorgias* 516 C οὐκοῦν οἷ γε δίκαιοι ἡμεροί, ὥς ἔφη
"Ὀμηρος.

The adjective is not applied to persons in our text. The Cycle may be intended.

The verses given *Phaedr.* 252 B on the authority of τινὲς 'Ὀμηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν do not even pose as from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, cf. p. 44.

Of these nine cases, in eight there is a probability that Plato used a lengthened or a shortened text: of these one (3) is objectively certain, one (6) almost as certain, one (1) probable; in four (5, 6, 7, 8) the pros and cons are perhaps equal; in one (2) the probability of contamination is the greater.

Aeschines in the speech against Timarchus quotes Homer five times: § 144 he has a verbal variant on Σ 329, § 148 a new version of Σ 333 (ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν φίλ' ἐταῖρε for νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν Πάτροκλε): § 150 new versions of Σ 97 (τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς for τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς) and 99 (κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι· ὃ μοι πολὺ φίλτατος or φίλτατον ἔσκεν for κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι· ὃ μὲν μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης). Aeschines' version of the latter line seems to imply the absence of v. 100, which the usual version requires. v. 100 is dispensable, and contains the expression ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα which the critics objected to as Hesiodic: in the parallel passages in Homer the form in our MSS. is ἄρεω or ἄρεως, which Aristarchus inserted here. § 149 he quotes Ψ 77-91. In Ψ 77 we have a verbal variant which occurs ἐν τισι τῶν

πολιτικῶν. As in Plato so also in Aeschines we note connexions with the πολιτικάί, though as Plato and Aeschines used Attic copies of their period the connexion must be one of time rather than place.¹ He adds Ψ 81 α μαρνάμενον δηίοις 'Ελένης ἔνεκ' ἡυκόμοιο, a dispensable line, not elsewhere extant as a whole, but constructed of two Homeric pieces. He then adds 83 α β which are equivalent in sense and partly in language to 91, 92 and seem out of place after 83. The variant ὡς ὁμοῦ 84 for ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ is a consequence of the presence of 83 α β. Aeschines' quotation stops at 91; it is therefore impossible to say with certainty that he omitted 92, the sense of which he had already given; but we notice that 92 ἐν πάσαις οὐκ ἦν and that Aristarchus athetized it. However the whole passage ran in the clerk of the court's copy, there were extensive alternatives and dislocations here in the fourth century.

§ 128 he says: οὕτως ἐναργές ἐστι καὶ οὐ πεπλασμένον δ' λέγω ὥσθ' εὐρήσετε καὶ τοὺς προγόνους φήμης ὡς θεοῦ μεγίστης βωμὸν ἰδρυμένους καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Ἰλιάδι λέγοντα πρὸ τοῦ τι τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι
 φήμη δ' ἐς στρατὸν ἦλθε.

Notwithstanding this very definite statement the word φήμη nowhere occurs in our *Iliad*. We can hardly assume less than that one verse of this wording stood in Aeschines' Homer.²

Aeschines' quotations are few, and limited, where we trace them, to two books. It is plain, however, that they show a great deal of variation: verbal, additions and omissions. The speech against Timarchus was delivered in 345 B. C.

The other orator who quotes Homer is Lycurgus. In the

¹ It is perhaps to be noticed that Aeschines has Σ 95 sqq., Σ 333-5, Ψ 77-91 read out by the *greffier*.

² The statement in the Demosthenic Ἐπιτάφιος 29 (ἐμέμνηντ' Ἀκαμαντὶδαι τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐν οἷς Ὅμηρος εἶνεκα τῆς μητρὸς φησιν Αἴθρας Ἀκάμαντ' εἰς Τροίαν στεῖλαι) seems to refer to the *Iliu Persis* (fr. iv), cl. fr. iii and Proclus' epitome (cf. p. 237).

speech against Leocrates § 103 he quotes *O* 494-9 with considerable verbal variation.

The last fourth-century writer to be adduced is Aristotle, in whose vast corpus there is frequent mention of Homer. Two conditions apply to Aristotle's quotations: mistakes of memory are admissible, for far from being a cunning artist like Plato, Aristotle is no artist at all, he adduces Homer for scientific not artistic purposes, and much of his work is unrevised and uncompleted. Secondly, the Cycle can hardly be invoked to cover new Homeric lines, seeing that *Poet.* 23 he distinguishes the author of the *Cypria* and the *Ilias Parva* from Homer.

(1) Additions and omissions:

Rhet. 1387 a 34 = *A* 542, 543

Αἴαντος δ' ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο,
Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμέσασχ' ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο.

v. 543, which is dispensable, is in no Homeric MS. The form in -σκ- occurs nowhere else. Plutarch (bis) also gives the line, but probably from Aristotle.

Probl. 943 b 22 = *δ* 567

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ξεφύροιο διαπνέουσιν ἀήται,

perhaps a real alternative to

ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ξεφύροιο λιγὺ πνέοντας ἀήτας
ὠκεανὸς ἀνίσιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.

Rhet. 1406 b 21 ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἶπη τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα

ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν

εἰκῶν ἐστιν, ὅταν δὲ

λέων ἐπόρουσε

μεταφορά. Presumably Homer is meant, though the name is not given. There is nothing nearer than ὄρτο λέων ὥς *T* 164.

Eth. Nic. 1116 b 26 ἰητικώτατον γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅθεν καὶ Ὀμηρος

σθένος ἔμβαλε θυμῷ [*A* 11, *Ξ* 151 σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω,
Π 529 μένος δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε θυμῷ]

καὶ

μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔγειρε [E 510 Τρωσὶν θυμὸν ἐγείρει,
O 232 οἱ ἔγειρε μένος μέγα, 594 ὃ σφισιν αἰὲν ἔγειρε μένος]
καὶ

δριμὺ δ' ἀνὰ ῥίνας μένος [ω 318 ἀνὰ ῥίνας δέ οἱ ἤδη |
δριμὺ μένος προὔτυψε]
καὶ

ἔξεσεν αἶμα.

Here faulty memory is probable in the first and third case, rather less probable in the second, and least probable in the last: *ρεῖν* (*ῥρρεν*) the usual verb-epithet of blood in Homer would not suit Aristotle's argument: so it is perhaps a *v. l.* in Δ 140 or P 86.

Eth. Eud. 1230 a 18 καθάπερ καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἑκτορά
φησιν ὑπομῖναι τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλέα·

Ἑκτορα δ' αἰδῶς εἶλε

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει (X 100).
Aristotle clearly read a new line near 99, whether an addition or a different version. P 12 has two new lines here, perhaps the same, amplified, version.

Schol. T Ω 420 ἀδύνατον νεκρῶν τραύματα μῦειν, ὥς φησιν
Ἀριστοτέλης (fr. 159 Rose) εἰρηκέναι Ὅμηρον
μῦσεν δὲ περὶ βροτόεσσ' ὠτειλή·
τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἡμιστίχιον οὐδὲ φέρεται.

Συμμύω is Homeric of wounds, so *περιμύω* may be: *βροτόεσσα* too is not very violent: we have therefore a new line.

Polit. 1285 a 10 δηλοῖ δ' Ὅμηρος· ὁ γὰρ Ἀγαμέμνων
κακῶς μὲν ἀκούων ἠνείχετο ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξελθόντων δὲ
καὶ κτείνειν κύριος ἦν· λέγει γοῦν

(B 391) δν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης . . .

(392) . . . οὔ οἱ . . .

(393) ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢ δ' οἰωνούς.

(393 a) πὰρ γὰρ ἐμοὶ θάνατος.

The lacunas are filled in our text, but there is no 393 a. This however so suits Aristotle's doctrine of the absolutism

of the heroic monarchy in time of war that I have no doubt he found the line after 393. The juridical sense of *θάνατος* is unhomeric, as is natural in an addition.

Polit. 1338 a 24 διόπερ "Ομηρος οὕτως ἐποίησεν
 ἀλλ' οἶον μὲν ἐστὶ καλεῖν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θαλεῖν·
 καὶ οὕτω προειπὼν ἐτέρους τινὰς
 οἱ καλέουσιν ἀοιδὸν
 φησιν
 ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἅπαντας.

This seems a different version of the passage p 381 sqq.

382 τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν
 ἄλλον γ' εἰ μὴ τῶν οἱ δημοεργοὶ ἔασιν
 μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων
 ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδὸν ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων;

ἀλλ' οἶον as an exclamation introduces a line δ 242, but there is no passage which could easily have misled Aristotle's memory.

(2) Different versions of lines :

B 15 (*Soph. el.* 166 b 7, *Poet.* 1461 a 22), *I* 539 (*hist. An.* 578 b 1 perhaps a contamination with ι 190), *I* 592 (*Rhet.* 1365 a 13), *K* 13 (*Poet.* 1461 a 18), ο 400, 401 (*Rhet.* 1370 b 5), τ 122 (*Probl.* 953 b 12).

Verbal variations are frequent, agreeing in some cases with some MSS. : *B* 196, 391, *Z* 200, *H* 64, *Θ* 22, 83, *K* 332, *Ξ* 217, *Σ* 107, *Τ* 372, *Ω* 258, ζ 45, λ 598, μ 375, ρ 218.

When therefore we have made the allowances called for by the nature of the Aristotelian corpus, it is plain that texts of Homer were extant in his day varying considerably from the later vulgate and not infrequently containing extra lines.

Dioscurides, ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητής, added *I* 119 a Athen. 11 A (and *T* 137 a teste Eust.).

The quotations after Aristotle are of little importance, for the same reason as the quotations before Herodotus are unimportant. First-hand literature after Aristotle has

almost perished. Had the Atthidographi and the Stoics¹—to say nothing of the other philosophers—and the earlier disciples of Aristotle survived, it cannot be doubted that we should have had a harvest of Homeric quotations. Accident has forbidden this. A certain number of verbal variants may be recovered from the centuries immediately following 300 B. C.,² but additions, omissions, or markedly different versions, are rare: e. g.

K 10 Chrysippus ap. Galen. *de plac. Hipp. et Plat.* v. 296 K. read *περὶ γὰρ δὶε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν* (I 433, Δ 557) for *τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἐντός*.

O 322 Chrysippus (ib.) read *φόβου δ' ἐμνήσαθ' ἕκαστος* for *λάθοντο δὲ θουρίδος ἀλκῆς*.

In Galen. *l. c.* v. 422 K. Chrysippus quotes (*ἐπὶ Ἀχιλλέως . . . πενθοῦντος τὸν Πάτροκλον*).

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κλαίων τε κυλινδόμενός τε κορέσθη (δ 541, κ 499), which as it occurs immediately before Ω 514 Chrysippus apparently read instead of Ω 513.

Further, in Galen, *l. c.*, we have these lines, not in Homer, evidently from Chrysippus: 298 K. *πρῆσεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νῆριςθενός Διὸς ἀλκὴν | γνωμέναι*.

πρήθειν metaphorically is not found in Homer.

¹ Galen complains of Chrysippus' parade of learning: v. 213 K. τὰ Χρυσίππου βιβλία, ποτὲ μὲν ἰδίωτας ἐπικαλούμενα μάρτυρας, ὧν ὑποτίθεται λημμάτων, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ποιητάς· ἢ τὴν βελτίστην ἐτυμολογίαν ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ἃ περαίνει μὲν οὐδέν, ἀναλίσκει δὲ καὶ κατατρίβει μάτην ἡμῶν τὸν χρόνον: ib. 299 πάντα μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι μυρία ἕτερα τὸ πλῆθος ὧν Χρυσίππος παρατίθεται . . . ἐγὼ δ' εἰ πάντα παραγράφουμι πληρώσω τὸ βιβλίον ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Χρυσίππος ἐπλήρωσεν. ἀλλ' ἐξ Ὁμήρου ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα. Cf. his v. l. in Hesiod, O. D. 242. Diog. Laert. vii. 180 ἐπλήθυνε δ' αὐτὰ [τὰ συγγράμματα] πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δόγματος ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ὑποπεσὸν γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλεονάκις πλείστην τε τῶν μαρτυριῶν παραθέσει χρώμενος· ὥστε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ποτ' ἐν τινι τῶν συγγραμμάτων παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν Εὐριπίδου Μῆδειαν ὅλην παρέθετο καὶ τις μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε τὸ βιβλίον, πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον τί ἄρα ἔχοι ἔφη Χρυσίππου Μῆδειαν.

² Γ 244 Dicaearchus read ἐῆ (as Zen. Ar., φίλη codd.), Δ 438 Polybius xv. 12 has a small variant (prob. = B 804). X 212 Chrysippus read ῥύμα for μέσσα. μ 105 Polybius conjectured δὲς for τρίς, as Crates (Polyb. xxxiv. 3 γραφικὸν . . . ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἱστορικόν). For verbal variants in other writers down to r. c. 1 see Ludwig's program.

ib. τότε δὴ στήθεων θ' ἄμα φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς (τε)
cf. T 137, Z 234.

134 ἄλλο δ' ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόος καὶ μῆτις ἀμύμων.

Demetrius of Scepsis ap. Strab. 607 quotes T 188-92 without 190, which is dispensable.

In writers of the last century B.C. we find Diodorus xvi. 23 omits B 518. (Dispensable, but the omission is perhaps intentional.)

id. v. 74 cites θεμιστοπόλοι as an epithet of kings. It is in the hymn to Demeter (103, 215, 473), not in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rhet.* viii. 14, omits the half-line

ἐμὸς δέ κε καὶ πάις εἷης
ὀπλότατος γενεῇφιν I 57-8,

and (ib.) perhaps I 71-3.

π 7 he has a formulaic variant (προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἔοντα for ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα).

After the Christian era literature becomes more abundant. We have four important antiquarian writers who take great account of Homer, Strabo, Plutarch, Pausanias, and Athenaeus.

Strabo furnishes abundant information about other people's readings, has many coincidences with extant scholia,¹ and often enjoyed fuller sources than we have, or sources which have not come down to us.² The text he uses himself is mostly vulgar. He has, besides various verbal variants and alternatives, omissions and transpositions, especially in the *Odyssey*. I notice only the two last categories.

27 om. E 228 ut vid. This is dispensable.

449 perh. om. N 714, 715.

¹ c. 3, 328, 348, 367, 394, 413, 424 (partly), 426, 439, 454, 543, 601, 616.

² c. 33 uv. (299, 784), 328 (again); Epit. vi. 21, 342, 370, 405, 407, 424 (partly), 432, 437, 439, 453, 545, 550, 601 (partly), 605 (partly = T), 608 (id.), 626 bis, 661. He was a pupil of Tyrannion (548) and Aristodemus (650), and quotes Aristonicus as a contemporary (38).

463 Ξ 116, 117, (118) transp.

552 Γ 188, 189 transp.

565 N 792 a *Μυσῶν ἀγχεμάχων ἡγήτορα* [*καρτεροθύμων* Ξ 512].

619 B 692 a (= T 296) *πέρσεν δὲ πόλιν θείοιο Μύνητος*.

17, 601 γ 130 a *βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἡπεροπηίδι τέχνη*.¹

38 γ 302 a (= δ 83).

350, 447, o 295 [om. codd. = h. Apoll. 425]. As 341 he has said that *Δύμη* is not in Homer he ignores the Hymns.

ib. o 298 a b [= 29 sqq.].

367 γ 494 a [= 486].

415 θ 75 sqq. ? om. 76 *θεῶν*—77 *ἐπέεσσιν*.

Predominant in Strabo is his silent adoption of his sources, with which he is honeycombed. Hence many of these additions may come with his authorities.

Epictetus, a generation later than Strabo, yields the remarkable digamma-survival Z 493 supported by \mathfrak{p} 21 (s. ii–iii P.C.). The rearrangement of the line apparently took place later than the third century P.C. Epictetus, somewhat to our surprise, quotes an antiquarian, i.e. Hellanicus ii. 19. 7; his version of this line may come from one.

Plutarch makes an important contribution to this material. Besides verbal variants,² he has the following additions and omissions:

(1) B 413 om. *de superst.* 169 c (414 *δός με* for *πρίν με*: cf. the addition of a principal verb, E 118).

(2) Δ 219 om. *vit. Hom.* ii. 211 (218 *πάσσε* for *εἰδώς*, perhaps from Plato, *Rep.* 408 A (cf. p. 254)).

(3) E 518 a b (= 593, 594), ib. ii. 34.

(4) H 337 fort. om. ib. ii. 191 (336 *τύμβον δ' ἐκ πεδίου* for *ἀμφὶ πυρήν*. With *πύργους* θ' 338 this would dispense with 337).

¹ Quoted also by Polyaeus and Stobaeus, perhaps from Strabo.

² Among others B 462, 758, E 424, 428 (as Cicero), Δ 452, 634, O 642, Π 281, 857, T 216, X 59, 363, Ψ 503, 634, Ω 544, δ 178–9.

(5) I 458-61 add. (*de aud. poet.* 26 F; 459-60 only *vit. Gai Marci* 32, 461 *quomodo amicus* 72 B): om. codd. The statement which accompanies the quotation in *de aud. poet.* Ἀρίσταρχος ἐξείλε ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη φοβηθείς suggests that P. found the verses in a hypomnema, not in an actual text.¹

(6) N 281 om. *de vit. Hom.* ii. 135. Perhaps dispensable.

(7) Ξ 206-8 om. *coni. praecept.* 143 D. In 209 ἀνέσασα for ἀνέσαιμι. Possible.

(8) Π 567 a *vit. Hom.* ii. 108: τανύσας in 567 implies a new line.

(9) Τ 205 om. *pro nobilit.* 1 (Ar. athetized 205-9).

(10) Φ 467 om. *cons. ad Apoll.* 104 F: οὐδέ τις ἀλκή for ἀλλὰ τάχιστα in 466 implies the absence of 467.

(11) Ψ 223 a b *cons. ad Apoll.* 117 C, viz. ἄρρητον δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε: he then says ἀλλ' ὅρα τὸ ἐξῆς

μοῦνος τηλύγετος πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι

(= I 482, π 19).

p 12 has

223 a χήρωσεν δ[ὲ γυναῖκα μυχῶ θαλάμοιο νέοιο,

223 b ἀρη[τὸν] δὲ τ[οκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε.

Plutarch is here confirmed, though p 12 is four centuries older than he. He may have taken the lines from a source.

(12) ζ 187 a (= ω 402) *quomodo quis suos in virt. sent. prof.* 82 E.

Three lines not at present in Homer are quoted as his in the *vit. Hom.* ii.

(1) 20 φθέγξατο δ' ἠνίοχος νηὸς κυανοπρώροιο,
also extant in an anonymous in Boissonade's *an. Graec.* iii. 286.

¹ Λ 543, not in the MSS., added *de aud. poet.* 24 c, 36 A, *vit. Hom.* ii. 132, is clearly from Aristotle (see p. 258). Mr. W. R. Paton informed me that the reading of the best MS. *de aud. poet.* 24 c is ἐν μέσῃ καὶ 36 A νεμέσῃ, which makes the dependence on Aristotle clear.

(2) 23 ἤμος δ' αἰξήοι Δημήτερα κωλοτομεῦσι (ascribed to ποιητής τις *de Is. et Os.* 377 D).

(3) 55 δωρήσω τρίποδα χρυσοῦατον.

Intentional omissions are *B* 339-43, *Z* 228, *Ξ* 202-4, *X* 69-73, *Ψ* 474-8, *Ω* 562-8.

A different version (ancient) appears for *I* 212 *de fac. in orb. lun.* 934 B, namely, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπτато παύσατο δὲ φλόξ, noted as ἔν τισι by schol. AT Eust., quoted also in schol. Aesch. *P. V.* 7 and Proclus, fr. 291 (cf. p. 209). The version of *Ω* 528 *de aud. poet.* 24 A is taken from Plato (see p. 254).

Plutarch's text is uncertain, especially in the *Moralia*: moreover the authorship of several treatises is doubtful, in particular the *de vit. et poesi Homeri*. Plutarch also is eminently built up on 'sources', and we can see him taking quotations along with the source at *A* 219, *A* 543, *Ω* 528, perhaps *Ψ* 223. The reality of his variants is confirmed at *Ψ* 223 sq. and *I* 212; but though the material he has preserved is valuable, his evidence for a text other than the ordinary at the end of the first century B. C. is slight.

Pausanias' text of Homer was ordinary;¹ he seems to omit *Φ* 195 (viii. 38) and he quotes *A* 265 (x. 29), in both cases with authorities. The bearing of his statement ix. 22. 6 Ἀλωέως παίδων γενέσθαι δὲ σφισι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ὅμηρος πεποιήκασι καὶ Πίνδαρος ὥς ἐπιλάβοι τὸ χρεὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν Νάξῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Πάρου κειμένῃ is uncertain. There is no mention of Naxos *λ* 305 sqq. or *E* 386. Conceivably there may have been an allusion to the Aloidæ in the hymn to Dionysus. Pausanias recognizes the hymns as Homeric.

Athenaeus, who is a disguised encyclopaedia, uses a completely ordinary text:² he quotes three lines as Homeric which do not occur in our texts; (*diserte*)

¹ Verbal variants: *E* 542, 546 (iv. 30. 2), *T* 266 (v. 24. 11), *Ψ* 585 (vii. 21. 3), *ε* 272 (viii. 3. 7), *Θ* 366 (viii. 18. 3), *N* 302 (ix. 36. 2), *σ* 295 (ix. 41. 5).

² Verbal variants: *A* 630 (10 B, 24 F), *A* 524 (66 c), *δ* 43 (179 A), *Σ* 594 (181 A), 604 (ib.), *θ* 154 (181 F), *χ* 375 (189 F), *γ* 332 (191 E), *θ* 267 (192 D), *P* 575 (236 c), *η* 218 (412 c), *Γ* 245 (425 D), *φ* 152 (437 E), *A* 245 (488 E), *Π* 641 (495 c), *Π* 856 (507 E).

137 E . . . μιμούμενος τὸν "Ομηρον" καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀριστεῖς συνάγων πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα
 φύρετο δ' ἄλφιτα

φησίν. B 403 is a possible context. The use of the word = *φυρᾶν* is unhomeric.

412 D ἥσθιεν ἀρπαλέως κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ, cf. ξ 109.

632 E αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἰνείαν φίλον υἱὸν Ἀγχίσαιο quoted as *λαγαρός*.

General literature after the Christian era supplies few cases of more or less lines: I collect some of them.

A 143 (ath. Zen.) is omitted by Greg. Cor. ap. Walz, *Rhet. gr.* vii. 1231.

A 403–5 om. ib. ii. 626. Dispensable: included in Zen.'s athetesis.

B 763–7 om. Julian *or.* ii. 55 A: not impossible, if unlikely.

B 206 om. (with vulg.) by Dio Prus. iii. 46; hab. (with a minority) i. 11 (with the remarkable reading *βουλευσι* for *βασιλεύη*).

γ 253–5 as two lines id. xl. 29.

Ammonius π. διαφορᾶς ὀνομάτων has two phrases which are not found in our texts: οὗτός τοι Διομήδης (i. v. οὗτος): perhaps after Γ 229. Ἀήιτον ἀμφεπένοντο (i. v. λητουργεῖν): cf. P 601 sqq., and under Οὐλή a conflation of Δ 140, P 86 (ut vid.).

Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 4, informs us "Ομηρος δὲ καὶ τέκτονα σοφὸν καλεῖ, and the commentators on Aristotle beginning with Ammonius, in *Porph. Isag.* iv. 3. 9, Busse give the half-line (ὁ ποιητής)

ἐπεὶ σοφὸς ἦραρε τέκτων.

This resembles Ψ 712 τοὺς τε κλυτὸς ἦραρε τέκτων. The original source of the quotation is unknown. Cf. Bywater, *J. Ph.* vii. 66.

See the collections (imperfect) of similar lines and phrases

in Kinkel, *E. G. F.* f. 70 sqq. ; Homer ed. Oxon. v. 147-51. The probability that the origin of a quotation is to be looked for in a source of course increases enormously with time.

The evidence which the quotations furnish for the Homeric text in general is most valuable and interesting; but when it is brought to bear on the question of the existence of longer, medium, and shorter texts—which is all we consider here—this evidence is very limited in affording conclusions and differs essentially according to century. In the earlier centuries it is affected by the imperfect discrimination between Homer and the Cycle (and other epic literature): in the later by the frequent possibility that the quotation in a given author may be taken from the author's source.

In the fifth century B. C. the whole evidence is very small (pp. 209 sqq.), and no new line is adduced of which it can be said with certainty that it is Homeric. Some of the non-Homeric lines in the *Peace* and the single one in Hippocrates and Democritus may have stood in fuller Homeric texts or may not. The fifth century therefore provides no positive evidence for amplified texts. On the other hand, it does not exclude the possibility: the scantiness of the total of lines quoted absolutely forbids such an inference. Further, to use a general argument: the origin of additions and omissions cannot be referred to anything except to the recitation of rhapsodes, and therefore the phenomenon must have existed and presumably been most frequent during the period when a reading public hardly existed; and this is contemplated by the tradition which ascribed additions in Homer to the contemporaries of Cynaethus.¹ If there were amplified texts in existence at any period, they must have been in existence in the eighth,

¹ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ii init. (in this scholion Dionysius of Argos (*F. H. G.* iii. 26) and Hippostratus of Sicily (*F. H. G.* iv. 432) are cited): ἐπιφανείς δὲ ἐγένοντο [οἱ 'Ομηρίδαι] οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν 'Ομήρου ποιήσιν. The similarity of the expansion of the Euripidean text in the process of representation, recognized in Euripides' scholia, is notorious.

seventh, and sixth centuries, the period of the great Homerids. Moreover, to anticipate another argument, there is no reason which can be assigned for their coming to the birth in the fourth and third centuries, where the quotations and papyri positively prove their existence. Increased hand production, which we may perhaps assume in the fourth century, may act in both directions, and on the whole tends to standardize a vulgate.

The fourth century supplies undeniable evidence of both longer and shorter texts; and the two principal authors who supply this evidence, Plato and Aeschines, have each one coincidence with the editions *κατὰ πόλεις*, which (see pp. 283 sqq.) were at least fourth century.

The third and second centuries are comparatively blank, owing to the all but complete loss of their literatures. What remains testifies to considerable verbal variants. The handful out of Chrysippus' quotations shows this. The evidence is neutral between long and short texts.

In the first century, both before and after the Christian era, literature survives again; and we notice there are practically no more or less lines. Moreover, nearly all the literature being antiquarian, the question of sources arrives as a complication. This qualifies the considerable additions and omissions in Strabo and Plutarch.

With the first century A. D. this kind of evidence practically stops: the new lines and verbal variants which may be collected later are clearly taken over from sources.

Therefore, after s. ii B. C., quotations do not testify to the existence of copies of the Homeric poems materially longer or shorter than the ordinary.

The existence of longer and shorter texts is proved for the fourth century and left probable for the fifth. What was the proportion between the longer (or shorter) texts and the medium texts—on the evidence of quotations? Was there a quasi-vulgate, consisting of the medium texts, and a minority of eccentric texts, longer and shorter than the medium; or were all categories of texts equal in

number? On the evidence of quotations it is difficult to give an answer.

It must be remembered that the quotations I have exhibited in this chapter are those only which contain variants from our actual ordinary text. They are only a portion of the whole. For the mass of quotations reference must be made to Ludwich's collections. If this is done it will be seen that the medium quotations are much more numerous than the plus or minus quotations. Simple addition, however, is not very satisfactory. As Caer, *l.c.* has observed the quotations in ss. v and iv are nearly all under five lines: above five we have seven consecutive lines in Heraclides Ponticus (quoted second-hand), seven in Plato, six in Lysurgus and Aristotle, ten in Pythagoras quoted by Porphyrius (but who is this Pythagoras?). Passages of this brevity allow of no inference to the character of the MS. from which they were taken. For instance, in Aeschines' quotation of Ψ 77-91 (p. 256), in which three new lines appear, if the quotation had ended at 81 or begun at 84, this evidence would not have appeared.

Again, we must not forget the capriciousness of quotation, a quality which belongs to all kinds of evidence. Plato, *Rep.* 393 gives a prose paraphrase of a passage of 26 lines (*A* 17-42); this is good evidence that in his copy *A* 17-42 was not increased by new lines. But what can we infer about 43 and the rest of the poem? Clearly nothing. Again, *A* 17-42 is a passage on which there is no record of a variant. If Plato had chosen for his purpose a passage where we have evidence of variants, something might have been inferred from the quotation. As it is, especially as amplifications seem to have affected particular parts of the poems (e.g. Θ and *X*), there is nothing to show that the copy Plato used on this occasion was not the worst of *πολύστιχοι*. To add up a number of such quotations and exhibit the total as the proportion of medium to eccentric texts is unsatisfactory, if the result is intended to be accepted literally.

At the same time the disproportion between the two kinds of texts in Plato and Aeschines is striking and cannot be evaded. We are therefore left with the conclusion that there were medium and long or short texts in the fifth and fourth centuries, and that the medium texts were more common. The proportion between the two kinds we cannot estimate from quotations.

I resume the figures:

	<i>Lines quoted.</i>	<i>Long or short texts</i>	<i>Medium texts.</i>
Herodotus	11	nil	11
Thucydides	1	nil	1
Aristophanes	7 (?)	2 (?)	5
Democritus	1	1	nil
Hippocrates	1	1	nil
<i>Fourth century.</i>			
Xenophon	14	3	11
Plato	209	12	197
Aeschines	32	5	27
Aristotle	98	10	88
Dioscurides	2	1	1

The remark may perhaps be made that the texts of Central Greece were relatively ample, since the quotations are from Attic authors and at this time Athens was a centre of the book trade, according to the story of the *βύβλοι γεγραμμέναι* in Attic ships at Salmydessus (Xen. *Anab.* vii. 5. 14). Contemporary copies from outlying parts such as Massilia and Sinope showed a smaller and more original text.

CHAPTER XII

EDITIONS CURRENT 300 B.C.: PAPYRI

WHEN at the end of the fourth century literature and quotations stop, their place is taken by specific information about the readings of the editions which were current in the third century, and which the Alexandrian librarians collected and used. Our source for these statements is the Homeric scholia (on the *Iliad* A, B, T, Lp and a few more), with sporadic notices in general literature. The readings mentioned by the scholiasts fall into three classes: (a) those favoured by men of letters (e.g. Antimachus, Callisthenes) and grammarians, and adopted in their editions (hence called *κατ' ἄνδρα*), (b) those of the editions called *κατὰ πόλεις* or *πολιτικάί*, (c) those of an edition going by the name of *κοινή* and equivalent titles. This information has long been common property, and little, even from papyri, can be added to it.

A

I begin with the largest and also the most obscure category, the *κοινή* or vulgate. Here there have been some accessions.¹

(1) B 53 αἱ πλείους καὶ χαριέσταται δίχα τοῦ ὡ βουλή· καὶ ἡ ἀριστοφάνειος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐγγράπτο καὶ τῇ ζηνοδοτείῳ βουλήν. ἀστειότερα δὲ ἡ χωρὶς τοῦ ὡ καὶ ἀριστάρχειος § A. αἱ πλείους καὶ χαριέστεραι δίχα τοῦ ὡ ὥς καὶ ἡ ἀριστάρχειος· ἡ δὲ σὺν τῷ ὡ ζηνοδότειος § T. βουλήν δὲ αἱ μὲν πλείους καὶ χαριέστεραι δίχα τοῦ ὡ γράφουσιν, ἀριστάρχος δὲ καὶ ζηνόδοτος διὰ τοῦ ὡ § B.

βουλήν MSS. except Bm 4 U 5 corr. γρ. P 3 W 5.

(2) B 397 ἡ κο[ινὴ] γενηται p 2. ὅτι οὐ γραπτέον ὥς τινες γένηται. . . οὕτως γένωνται αἱ ἀριστάρχου . . . μετα-

¹ My old collection will be found C. R., 1899, 334 sqq. The additions are Nos. 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11.

ποιοῦσι δέ τινες γένηται οὐκ ὀρθῶς. ταῦτα ὁ δίδυμος s A. γένωνται οἱ ἄνεμοι· οἱ δὲ ἀήθεις μεταγράφουσι γένηται s B T. γένωνται MSS.

(3) B 769 η κο[ινη] φερτερος ηεν p 2. οὕτως φέρτατος οὐ φέρτερος αἱ ἀριστάρχου s A, om. s B, def. s T.

MSS. divided.

(4) Δ 170 οὕτω πότμον αἱ ἀριστάρχου οὐ μοῖραν ὡς ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς A, om. B T.

πότμον P 10: μοῖραν cet.

(5) E 461 ἐν τῇ σινωπικῇ καὶ κυπρία καὶ ἀντιμάχου τρωῖας σὺν τῷ ι . . . ἡ μέντοι κοινή, ἥ συντίθεται καὶ ὁ ἀσκαλωνίτης, τρῶας ὡς κᾶρας T (def. A), cf. et B.

τρώων vulg.: τρῶας plerique alii: τρῶας o M 1 M 5 O 6 U 2 Eust.

(6) E 797 ἀρίσταρχος τείρετο, αἱ δὲ κοινὰ τρίβετο B T. ἀρίσταρχος τῷ τείρετο, ἄλλοι δὲ τῷ τρίβετο A.

τείρετο vulg.: τρίβετο e i l q r B C D T Eust.

(7) E 881 αἱ ἀριστάρχου ὑπερφίαλον οὐχ ὑπέρθυμον, ὥσπερ αἱ δημῳδεις A, om. B. ἀρίσταρχος ὑπερφίαλον T. This assumes that αἱ δημῳδεις = αἱ κοιναί.

ὑπέρθυμον codd.: ὑπερφίαλον P 12 Vil.

(8) Z 128 η κο[ινη] ουρανον p 21. οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος . . . διδὸν διὰ τοῦ ν γράφει, κατ' οὐρανόν A (T), om. B.

οὐρανοῦ vulg.: οὐρανὸν a d q P 8 U 4 U 11 U 12.

(9) Z 148 ὡρη[ι] αι αρχ[αιαι] η κο[ινη] υ[πο]σ[τελλει] ὡρη p 21. ἀριστοφάνης γράφει τηλεθῶντα . . . καὶ τὸ ὥρη μετὰ τοῦ ι γράφει κατὰ δοτικήν A.

ὥρη g A B P 11 Vi 5 Eust.: ὦρη vulg.

(10) Z 464 η κ[οινη] τεθνεωτα p 21. The doctrine is to be found on Z 71 H 89 al. La Roche H T 282, e. g. H 409 ἀρίσταρχος τεθνηιώτων, ἄλλοι δὲ τεθνειώτων (ἄλλοι also K 387).

MSS. divided.

(11) Z 478 η κ[οινη] βιη[ν] διχ[α] τοῦ τε] p 21. ἄλλοι ὦδε βίην ἀγαθόν τε A, om. B. οὕτως ἀγαθόν τε T.

βίην τ' vulg.: βίην c e h D p N 4 V 14.

(12) Θ 349 ὁ ζηνόδοτος γράφει Γοργόνος ὄμματ' ἔχων ἢ ἐβροτολοιγοῦ ἄρῃος . . . ἀρίσταρχος δὲ γράφει σὺν τῷ ἰ οἷματ' ἔχων . . . αἱ μέντοι πλείους τῶν δημωδῶν εἶχον Γοργόνος ὄμματ' ἔχων . . . A. ἀρίσταρχος μὲν οἷματά φησιν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄμματα B. αἱ ἀριστάρχου οἷματα, αἱ δὲ πλείους ὄμματα T.

ὄμματ' MSS.

(13) I 324 διὰ τοῦ ἄρα γράφουσι καὶ αἱ ἀριστάρχου κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ, αἱ δὲ εἰκαιότεραι κακῶς δέ τε οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ A, om. B T.

MSS. divided.

(14) M 33 οὕτως φέρουσι τὴν γραφὴν ἱεὺν ὡς τίθεν . . . ἢ μέντοι κοινὴ ἱεὶ ἐστίν A, om. B T.

ἱεὺν and ἱεὺν vulg.: ἱεὶ L 16 L 19: ἱη A.

(15) M 382 οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου καὶ αἱ πλείους, χεῖρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρησιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοινοτέραις χειρὶ γε τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἔχοι ἀνὴρ A, om. B. οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου· ἐν δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς χειρὶ γε τῇ ἐτέρῃ T.

χειρὶ γε τῇ ἐτέρῃ vulg. χεῖρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρῃς c g h i B C T al.

(16) M 404 οὕτως οὐδὲ διὰ πρό αἱ ἀριστάρχου· ἢ δὲ κοινὴ ἢ δὲ διὰ πρό A, om. B. οὕτως ἢ γραφὴ T.

ἢ δὲ vulg.: οὐδὲ a i l m D al.

(17) N 289 οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος οὐκ ἂν διὰ τοῦ α· αἱ δὲ κοιναὶ οὐ κεν A, om. B. οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος· τινὲς δὲ οὐ κεν T.

ἂν vulg.: κεν h i.

(18) N 613 ἢ κοινὴ ἐφίκοντο, ἀριστοφάνης ἐφικέσθην T, om. B. οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀφίκεσθον, ἀριστοφάνης δὲ ἀφικέσθην A.

ἐφίκοντο vulg.: ἀφ- p 59 i L 16 Mc al.

(19) Ξ 125 οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου εἰ ἐτεόν περ . . . αἱ δὲ δημῶδεις ὡς ἐτεόν περ A. ἀρίσταρχος εἰ ἐτεόν περ B T.

ὡς vulg.: εἰ U 1 U 2 V 1.

(20) Ξ 235 ἀρίσταρχος χάριν εἰδέω, αἱ δὲ δημῶδεις εἰδέω χάριν A, om. B. αἱ ἀριστάρχου χάριν εἰδέω T.

εἰδέω χάριν vulg.: χάριν εἰδέω (ἰδέω) h U 1 U 2.

(21) O 50 ἐν ταῖς εἰκαιόταις ἀθανάτοις θεοῖς A, om. B. γράφεται καὶ μετ' ἀθανάτοις T.

καθίξοις vulg.: θεοῖς L 8.

(22) O 197 ἀρίσταρχος βέλτερον εἶη· οἱ δὲ εἰκαιότεροι γράφουσι κέρδιον εἶη· ἀριστοφάνης κάλλιον εἶη A, om. B T.

κέρδιον vulg.: βέλτερον *acd* *fa*l.: φίλτερον N 4 V 12 V 18.

(23) Π 638 αἱ μὲν κοιναὶ κατ' αἰτιατικὴν σαρπηδόνα . . . ἐὰν δὲ ὡς ἀρίσταρχος γράφει σαρπηδόνη δίφ κατὰ δοτικὴν . . . A, and ἀρίσταρχος κατὰ δοτικὴν σαρπηδόνη δίφ A, om. B T.

σαρπηδόνα vulg.: -όνι Ge.

(24) P 214 αἱ κοιναὶ ἐκδόσεις ἔχουσι μεγαθύμου πηλείωνος . . . ἡ δὲ ἀριστάρχειος διόρθωσις κατὰ δοτικὴν ἔχει μεγαθύμῳ πηλείωνι A, and οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος κατὰ δοτικὴν ἄλλοι δὲ μεγαθύμου πηλείωνος A, om. B. ἀρίσταρχος μεγαθύμῳ πηλείωνι, ζηνόδοτος πηληιάδεω ἀχιλῆος T.

μεγαθύμου πηλείωνος vulg.: -φ -ωνι *p* A L 19 M 8 M 10 N 1 Eust.¹

(25) Σ 100 διὰ τοῦ ᾧ ἄρεω ἡ ἀριστάρχου . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκαιόταις ἀρῆς τῆς βλάβης A. ἀρῆς δὲ τῆς βλαβῆς . . . τινὲς δὲ ἄρεως τοῦ πολέμου B T.

ἀρῆς codd. (ἄρεω A ss., γρ. P 3).

(26) Σ 376 . . . καὶ ὅτι θεῖον ἀγῶνα λέγει τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν θεῶν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιόταις κατὰ δῶμα νεοίατο A, om. B. οὕτως· ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιόταις θεῖον κατὰ δῶμα νέοιντο T.

δυσαίατ' (-ονται, -ωνται) codd.

(27) T 95 οὕτως ἐν ἀπάσαις ζεὺς ἄσατο . . . ἐν δὲ τισι τῶν εἰκαιότερων ζῆν' ἄσατο A T, om. B, also ἀρίσταρχος ζεὺς ἄσατο A.

ζῆν' codd.

(28) T 189 . . . δίχα τοῦ πέρ . . . ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιόταις μετὰ τοῦ πέρ B, def. A, om. T.

τέως περ vulg.: τέως γε *hl* al.: τέως δὲ *r* al.: τέως *m* L 5 N 4 U 2.

¹ In Ox. Pap. 685 on P 728, η̅ referring to accentuation is equivalent to ἡ κοινὴ ἀνάγνωσις usual in prosodiacal scholia.

(29) T 228 αἱ ἀριστάρχου ἀλλ' ὅτε δέ· αἱ κοιναὶ ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ T. ἀρίσταρχος ἀλλ' ὅτε δέ, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ διὰ τοῦ ἥ A, om. B.

δὴ vulg.: δὲ N 4 V 10.

(30) T 255 οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος πολλά τά τε καὶ οὐκί . . . τὰ δὲ φαυλότερα (εἰκαιότερα T) τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐτεά ἔχει A T, om. B.

ἐτεά vulg.: τά τε cp A B C N 1: ἔτ' ἐόντα U 2 U 4 mg.: ἐόντα τε L 18 Mo V 4.

(31) T 384 ἔν τισι τῶν φαύλων ἀντιγράφων μετὰ τοῦ τ A T, om. B.

δν codd.

(32) Φ 587 οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου οἱ καὶ . . . ἔν τισι δὲ τῶν εἰκαιωτέρων οἱ κε . . . A T, om. B.

κε(ν) codd.

(33) X 301 πάροιθέ γε. ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰκαιωτέραις πάλαι τό γε φίλτερον T, om. A B.

πάλαι τό γε vulg.: τότε mq T: πάροιθέ γε V 1 γρ. M 1 U 4.

(34) X 468 αἱ ἀριστάρχου βάλε δέσματα, αἱ δὲ κοιναὶ χέε A T, om. B.

χέε vulg.: βάλε h U 9 V 1.

(35) X 478 αἱ κοινότεραι πριάμον ἐνὶ οἴκῳ A T, om. B.

κατὰ δῶμα codd.: ἐνὶ οἴκῳ Strabo 585 V 10 uv.

(36) Ω 7 αἱ δημώδεις καὶ πάθεν ἔργα T, om. A B.

ἄλγεα (-γη) codd.

(37) Ω 214 οὕτως ἐπεὶ οὐ ἐ . . . αἱ δὲ κοιναὶ ἐπεὶ οὐ τι A T.

οὐ ἐ vulg.: οὐ τι p 14.

(38) Ω 344 οὕτως ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τοῦ εῖ· αἱ δὲ κοιναὶ διὰ τοῦ ἥ ἐθέλη A, om. B T.

ἐθέλει vulg.: ἐθέλη p 9 A C Bm 4 Bm 6 M 9 O 2.

To this I add the evidence of the Odyssey-scholia, with the help of Dindorf's index.

(39) α 117 γρ. καὶ κτήμασιν ἐν ταῖς εἰκαιωτέραις U 5.

κτήμασιν vulg.: δώμασιν α b e i.

(40) β 182 . . . ὁ δὲ τῇ σύνδεσμος περιττός· ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰκαιότεροις γράφεται οὐδέ τι H 3 U 5 P 6.

τε vulg.: τι a k o p P al.

(41) γ 349 αἱ ἀριστάρχου ᾧ οὔτι, αἱ δὲ φανλότεραι ᾧ οὔτε . . . U 5.

οὔτε codd.

(42) δ 495 οὕτως αἱ ἀριστάρχου. αἱ κοινότεραι θάνον H 3.

θάνον vulg.: δάμεν L 4 P 7 T.

(43) δ 668 πρὶν ἥβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι αἱ ἀριστάρχου· αἱ δὲ κοινότεραι πρὶν ἡμῖν πῆμα γενέσθαι H 3 M 4.

ἡμῖν πῆμα γενέσθαι vulg.: ἥβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι a c d f l.

(44) ε 34 χωρὶς τοῦ κε αἱ κοινότεραι H 3.

κ' vulg.: om. d U 7 corr.

(45) ε 217 ἀρίσταρχος εἰς ἄντα· αἱ κοινότεραι εἰς σῶμα H 3 P 7.

εἰσάντα vulg.: εἰς ᾧπα R 5 quod coni. Porson.

(46) ε 232 αἱ ἀριστάρχου ἐφύπερθε· αἱ εἰκαιότεραι ἐπέθηκεν H 3.

ἐπέθηκε vulg.: ἐφύπερθε e j.

(47) ε 459 ξηνόδοτος ἀπὸ ἔο. ἡ κοινὴ ἀπὸ ἔθεν H 3 P al.

ἔο, ἔω codd.

(48) λ 74 ἡ κοινὴ κακκεῖαι, ἀρίσταρχος κακκῆαι H 3 M 4.

κακκῆαι vulg.: κακκεῖαι k.

(49) λ 83 τινὲς εἰκαιότερον ἀγορεύον H 3 (-σον MS., corr. Dind.).

ἀγόρευεν vulg.: -εῦον J R 1.

(50) ξ 428 ἀρίσταρχος πάντων, αἱ δὲ εἰκαιότεραι πάντοθεν H 3.

πάντοθεν codd.

(51) ρ 160 ἐν τοῖς χαριεστέροις οὔτοι μόνοι οἱ β' ἀθετοῦνται . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινοτέροις [εἰκαιότεροις V 4] ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡς ἔφατο ἕως τοῦ ἐξ ἐμεῦ M 4 V 4.

None omitted: 150–65 obelus in U 6 (exc. 151), bracket e.

(52) ρ 270 ἀρίσταρχος ἐνήνοθεν, αἱ δὲ κοινὰ ἀνήνοθεν H 3.

ἀνήνοθεν vulg.: ἐν- e i P 5 U 6.

Several observations may be made on this list:

1. We have a number of sources (editions, books) called by somewhat similar names: *κοινή*, *-αί*, *-ότεραι*, *δημώδεις*,¹ *εἰκαιότεραι*, *-α*, *φauλότερα*. Are these terms synonymous, and do they refer to the same edition or editions? *Κοινή* and *δημώδης* are close in meaning, and so are *εἰκαῖος* and *φauλος*. We have two equations: *κοινότεροις* and *εἰκαιότεροις*, ρ 160, *εἰκαιότερα* and *φauλότερα*, T 255. Apparently these terms are to be treated as equivalent, and as variants on *κοινός*, which is the word found in the papyri (nos. 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11).

2. The mention of the 'vulgate' by whatever name it was originally denoted is often (a) omitted, (b) replaced by a vaguer word in our Byzantine scholia:

(a) The six cases in papyrus mentioned just above have left no trace in the mediaeval scholia, unless *οἱ ἀήθεις*, B 397, is to be regarded as an equivalent. Among the mediaeval MSS. the mention occurs

sixteen times in A only (B 53 Δ 170 E 881 Θ 349 I 324 M 33 M 404 N 289 Ξ 125 235 O 50 O 197 Π 368 P 214 Σ 100 Ω 344);

five times in T only (E 461² N 613 T 228 X 301 Ω 7);

once in B only (T 189);

twice in U 5 only (α 117 γ 349);

six times in H 3 only (δ 495 ε 34 232 λ 83 ξ 428 ρ 270).

(b) In many cases *κοινή* or the like in one version of the scholia is represented by *ἄλλοι* or *τινές* in another: e.g. B 397 E 797 Z 464 with H 409 K 387 Z 478 Θ 349 N 289 P 214 T 228.³

¹ Cf. Origen in *Cels.* vii. 37 οὐκ ἐν ἀνακεχωρηκόσι [rare] καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένοις ὑπὸ ὀλίγων μόνον καὶ φιλομαθῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δημώδεστέροις. ἡ δημώδης [ἐκδοσίς] occurs in the g Demosth. Mid. 558. 16. Gellius xii. 10. 6 'M. Tullii in exemplaribus fidelissimis . . . in libris autem vulgariis . . .'.

² Here A does not exist.

³ Similarly Chrysostom on the Psalms (Migne vol. lv) alludes to the translators of the *Hexapla* not by their names but as *ἄλλος*, *ἕτερος*, *τινές* (once p. 338), δ 'Εβραῖος, δ Σύρος. In the later and spurious books in this volume, compiled from Eusebius and Theodoret, Symmachus, Aquila and Theodotion are quoted by name, which, as Savile says (p. 675), is contrary to Chrysostom's use.

Hence it may be confidently assumed that the mentions of the readings of this source were in the early states of the hypomnemata vastly more frequent than they are now (the six papyrus-mentions prove this), and probably the full original formula specifying the reading of Zen. Aph. Ar. &c., always included the datum of the κοινή (the entry on *M* 382 is the fullest form which has survived).

Further, we notice a few more detailed mentions of the κοινή where a partitive formula is employed: e.g. Θ 349 αἱ πλείους τῶν δημῶδων *A* (= αἱ πλείους *T*), *T* 384 ἔν τισι τῶν φαύλων, *T* 95, Φ 587 ἔν τισι τῶν εἰκαισιτέρων.

What was this edition, or were these copies, whether κοινά, εἰκαῖα, δημῶδη, or φαῦλα? The disparaging intention of all the epithets is evident, particularly as they are sometimes opposed to χαρίεις, χαριέστερος, ἀστεϊότερος (e.g. *B* 53, ρ 160: for χαρίεις without its contrary see the Indices). However, κοινή at least and δημῶδης are ambiguous, like 'vulgar' and 'vulgate'. Is there ground to believe that κοινή originally meant 'usual', 'universal', and that the disparaging sense was secondary? In other words, was there a 'vulgate' in Alexandrian or Roman times, and are these passages evidence of its readings?

'Vulgate' is an ambiguous term. Its most strict acceptance we take from the action of the Council of Trent in prescribing a version of the Latin Bible. Of vulgate in this sense there is no question in the ancient world. The necessary sanction was wanting. But long ere this we find St. Jerome using the words *vulgata* and κοινή to denote versions or copies of the Old Testament. See my quotations from Jerome and Basil, p. 317. Jerome recognizes the term as applying to two different editions of the O. T., both in use: the edition of Lucianus, and the edition known as that of the LXX. The two were in 'common' use in different parts of the eastern world. In Jerome and in Basil the word evidently means 'usual' or 'general'.

Besides this close parallel there are other instances of κοινός in the sense of usual and general, in the language of

prosody ἡ κοινὴ παράδοσις (ἀνάγνωσις), in the language of dialect ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος or shortly ἡ κοινή. It seems therefore a reasonable use of the word to understand by it the generality of copies in use at a particular time as against copies revised by, or representing the recension of, a critic (as the versions of the O. T. by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion were not given this name). The disparaging sense of the word possibly followed in part from this unrevised character.

If the κοινή was the unappropriated or general text of the Alexandrian period, its nature ought to be given by its surviving readings. These I next collect. At this period of the text the one question that can be put as a criterion of quality is that of age. Is a word or form ancient, or is it a modernization? I divide the readings of the κοινή on this plan, and mark ancient forms or words *, modern words or forms o.

	κοινή	cet.
1. B 53	βουλὴν, sc. ἴζε act.	βουλὴ, sc. ἴζε neut.
o 2. B 397	γένηται, sc. sing. with neut. pl.	γένωνται, sc. pl. with neut. pl.
3. B 769	φέρτερος	φέρτατος
o 4. A 170	μοῖραν, a longer-lived word than	πότμον
o 5. E 461	τρῶας : τρώς, as adj.	τρῶας
o 6. E 797	τρίβετο, a longer-lived word than	τείρετο
o 7. E 881	ὑπέρθυμον, a longer- lived word than	ὑπερφίalon
? o 8. Z 128	κατ' οὐρανοῦ, commoner	κατ' οὐρανὸν
9. Z 148	ῶρη	ῶρη
o 10. Z 464	τεθνηῶτα	-ῶτα
11. Z 478	βίην ἀγαθὸν	βίην τ' ἀγαθὸν
12. Θ 349	ῶμματ'	οἴματ'
13. I 324	δέ τε	δ' ἄρα
? 14. M 33	ἴει, misunderstanding of pl. ἴεν ?	ἴεν
15. M 382	χειρί γε τῇ ἐτέρῃ	χείρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρῃς

	κοινή	cet.
16. M 404	ἡ δὲ	οὐδὲ
?* 17. N 289	οὐ κεν	οὐκ ἂν
?* 18. N 613	ἐφίκοντο, pl. with dual noun	ἐφ-, ἀφικέσθην, -θον
19. Ξ 125	ὥς ἐτεόν, to avoid hiatus	εἰ ἐτεόν
* 20. Ξ 235	εἰδέω χάριν, F kept	χάριν εἰδέω
21. O 50	θεοῖσι	καθίζοις
22. O 197	κέρδιον	βέλτερον, κάλλιον
23. Π 638	Σαρπηδόνα	-όνι
24. P 214	μεγαθύμου Πηλείωνος, ? ἰνδάλλομαι = φαί- νομαι with part.	-φ -νι
25. Σ 100	ἀρῆς	ἄρεω
26. Σ 376	κατὰ δῶμα νέονται, om. uv. 377	θεῖονδυσαίαν ἀγῶνα, cum 377
27. T 95	Ζῆν' ἄσατο [acc. c. med. peculiar to book T]	Ζεὺς
ο 28. T 189	τέως περ, to restore metre	τέως [= τῆος]
29. T 228	δὴ σκιρτῶεν	δὲ σκ.
? 30. T 255	πόλλ' ἐτεά τε	πολλά τ' ἐόντα?, &c.
?* 31. T 384	τὸν, rel.	ὃν
32. Φ 587	κε	καὶ
33. X 301	πάλαι τό γε	πάραιθέ γε
34. X 468	χέε δέσματα	βάλε
* 35. X 478	ἐνὶ οἴκῳ	κατὰ δῶμα
* 36. Ω 7	πάθε ἔργα	πάθεν ἄλγεα
ο 37. Ω 214	οὐ τι	οὐ ἔ
38. Ω 344	ἐθέλη	-ει
39. α 117	κτήμασιν	δώμασιν
40. β 182	οὐδέ τι	οὐδέ τε
41. γ 349	οὔτε	οὔτι
42. δ 495	θάνον	δάμεν
43. δ 668	ἡμῖν πῆμα γενέσθαι	ἦβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι
* 44. ε 34	ἡματι εἰκοστῷ	κ' εἰκ.
?* 45. ε 217	εἰς ὧπα R 5: εἰς σῶμα codd.	εἰσάντα
46. ε 232	ἐπέθηκε	ἐφύπερθε

	κοινή	cet.
47. ε 459	ἔθεν	ἔο
ο 48. λ 74	κακκέϊαι	κακκῆαι
49. λ 83	ἀγορεῖον	-ευεν
50. ξ 428	πάντοθεν	πάντων
51. ρ 150-65	obeli	160, 161 obeli
?* 52. ρ 270	ἀνήνοθεν	ἐν- commoner

Many of these cases are ambiguous, and consist of alternatives of which one is not specifically older than the other. Leaving these aside we find, out of the total fifty-two cases, eleven modernisms against seven ancient survivals; analysed they stand:

modernisms:

syntax: *B* 397 ? *E* 461 ? *Z* 128,

forms: *ει* for *η* *Z* 464 λ 74,

ϝ neglected *Ω* 214,

words: *Δ* 170 *E* 797 881 ρ 270 commoner than the alternatives;

survivals:

syntax: ? *N* 613,

forms: *ϝ* observed *Ξ* 235 *X* 478 *Ω* 7 ε 34 ? ε 217,

τὸν for δν *T* 384.

These characteristics agree with the idea of a generality of MSS., an unauthorized 'vulgate'. In an unfenced text the single tendency that is constant is that to modernism, the effect of the ambient: our printed Bibles, Shakespeares, Miltons have long since been adduced. The Homeric vulgate was modernized here and not modernized there: commoner words took the place of their rarer metrical equivalents, and the vowel-change of *η* into *ει* very nearly established itself. This was noticed by the Alexandrians, who endeavoured to withstand it. On the other hand it is remarkable that the vulgate observed the digamma more often than the *χαριέστεραι* or the *πολιτικάι*. It is well known that the Alexandrians did not recognize the digamma in Ionic. It would seem, therefore, that the

displacements and alternative readings due to the desire to avoid hiatus, &c., arose from intentional revision, and that the unrevised vulgate in this case showed a more genuine text, the public not being sensitive to hiatus.

We conclude that the *κοινή* or vulgate adduced by Didymus in his commentary—if not by the Alexandrians themselves—consisted of the ordinary or uncorrected copies produced by the book trade, whose general characteristic was an increasing modernity in syntax, vocabulary, and phonetics. In most of these points the vulgate was ‘careless’ and even ‘bad’. The principal aim of the professional critic, Alexandrian and other, was to stay the course of the modernizing process by restoring older forms and words. Their procedure was good except as regards the digamma.¹

We have lastly to consider how far the ancient ‘vulgate’ is identical with the text of the mediaeval MSS., in other words how far modernization triumphed over the efforts of the grammarians.

If we adopt five categories of degree of survival, the numbers are as follows: out of a total of fifty-two ‘vulgate’ readings

7 are in all our MSS. = 14 per cent. (roughly).			
23	„	a majority	= 45 „
4	„	about half	= 8 „
11	„	a minority	= 20 „
5	„	none	= 10 ² „

The third-century ‘vulgate’ forms the staple of the mediaeval text, but owing partly to its unauthorized character originally and to the existence of rivals, owing also to the indirect effect of grammarians’ preferences, it is seldom exclusive.

These proportions are different from those I arrived at in 1899 (l.c., p. 359). Wider collation and the inclusion of the Odyssey-evidence account for the variation.

¹ Ar. obliterates φ @ 228, I 73, N 107, Ξ 235: lengthens $\mu\nu$ in arsi K 347.

² Two cases do not come into the calculation, nos. 45 and 51.

B. Αἱ πολιτικάί.

Another class of evidence quoted by the scholiasts is that of the editions κατὰ πόλεις or πολιτικάί.¹ They promise much, but perform little, and though the number of mentions has increased² we know little more of their nature than Villoisin and Wolf did.

(1) A 97 Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει· οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥιανοῦ (καὶ σχεδὸν πᾶσαι T) τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει τρόπον. ἔοικεν οὖν ἡ ἑτέρα Ζηνοδότου εἶναι, ἢ οὐδ' ὅ γε πρὶν λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει A T, om. B.

λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει codd.

(2) A 298 οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ἧ οὐ διὰ τοῦ εῶ καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ καὶ ἡ Σινωπικὴ . . . A, om. B T.

μαχέσσομαι vulg.: -ήσομαι b d g r A C D T al.

(3) A 332 διὰ τοῦ ἰ οὐδέ τι, οὐ διὰ τοῦ εῖ. καὶ ἡ Κύπριος A, om. B T.

τί codd.

(4) A 381 Σέλευκός φησιν ἐν τῇ Κυπρία καὶ Κρητικῇ ἐπεὶ ῥά νύ οἱ φίλος ἦεν, καὶ Θεαγένης δὲ οὕτως προφέρεται. ἀπίθανον γὰρ τὸ ὁ δέ νυ λίαν φίλος ἦεν A, om. B T.

ἐπεὶ ῥά νύ οἱ codd.

(5) A 424 . . . οὕτως δὲ εὗρομεν [κατὰ] καὶ ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρία . . . A, om. B T.

μετὰ vulg.: κατὰ P 15 uv. Ve V 1.

(6) A 435 διὰ τοῦ εῖ προέρεσαν, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ὕ προέρυσσαν, καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ καὶ ἡ Σινωπικὴ . . . A. οὕτω πᾶσαι T, om. B.

προέρυσσαν vulg.: -εσαν P 21.

(7) A 585 οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου ἐν χειρὶ οὐ πληθυντικῶς ἐν χερσίν. ὁμοίως δὲ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ A . . . πᾶσαι ἐνικῶς ἔχουσι τὸ χειρὶ οὐ πληθυντικῶς A T, om. B.

χερσὶ codd.

(8) A 598 οὕτως οἰνοχόει Ἀρίσταρχος, ἰακῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ καὶ Μασσαλιωτικῇ . . . A. ἰακῶς πᾶσαι T, om. B.

ὀνοχόει vulg.: οἶν- Bm 2 L 8 (ὀν-).

¹ La Roche, l. c., p. 16 sqq. ; Ludwich, l. c., p. 4 sqq.

² By two, viz. nos. 42 and 45.

(9) B 258 . . . ἡ δὲ Σινωπικὴ εἶχε κιχήσομαι ὡς τὸ πάρος περ, ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ὕστερον αὐτὶς . . . B T, om. A.

κιχήσομαι ὡς νύ περ ᾧδε codd.

(10) B 865 γράφεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς σχολίοις καὶ ὅτι ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ἔκδοσις ἀντὶ τοῦ γυγαίη λίμνη γυραίως εἶχεν Eust. 366. 12, om. A B, def. T. ἐν τ' [= τινι] γυραιη τεκε marg. p 2.

γυγαίη codd.

(11) Γ 10 . . . ἐν ἐνίαις δὲ τῶν ἐκδόσεων, τῇ τε Χία καὶ τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ τισιν ἄλλαις ἐκ πλήρους ἐγγέγραπτο ἡῦτε ὄρευσ κορυφῇσι . . . ταῦτα ὁ Δίδυμος A, om. B T.

ὄρεος codd.

(12) Γ 51 οὕτως κατηφείην σὺν τῷ ὃ ὠμολόγουν αἱ Ἀριστάρχου . . . καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν ταῖς χαριεστάταις A, om. B T.

κατηφείην vulg.: -εῖη p 31 E4 L10 M1 M8 P10 U2 Ve al.

(13) E 461 ἐν τῇ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρία . . . τρωάς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἰ . . . T, om. B, def. A.

τρώων vulg.: τρωὰς some.

(14) M 281 οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου χέει ἔμπεδον, ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ χέει ἄσπετον A T, om. B.

ἔμπεδον codd.

(15) M 283 οὕτως αἱ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ sic T (Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τοῦ ὁ λωτοῦντα A) om. B. φασὶ δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος μὲν πεδία γράφει λωτοῦντα ὃ ἐστὶ λωτόεντα κατὰ κρᾶσιν κοινὴν τοῦ εἰ καὶ ὁ εἰς τὴν οὐ δίφθογγον, ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ἔκδοσις λωτεῦντα κραθέντος τοῦ εἰ καὶ ὁ εἰς τὴν εὐ δίφθογγον Eust. 905. 16.

λωτεῦντα codd.: λωτοῦντα Bm 5.

(16) N 60 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Χία καὶ Ἀντιμάχου (om. T) κεκοπών A T, om. B.

κεκοπῶς vulg.: κεκοφῶς b g Ge.

(17) N 363 ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ Ἑκάβης νόθον υἱὸν ἐόντα A T, om. B.

Καβησόθεν ἔνδον ἐόντα codd.

(18) Ξ 349 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Χία ὑψόσ' ἴκανε A = οἱ δὲ ἴκανεν
T, om. B.

ἔεργε codd.: ἄερθε V 1.

(19) Ξ 418 . . . ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Χία ὧκα A, ead.
T, om. B.

ὧκα vulg.: ὦκὺ p 1 h U 1.

(20) O 44 ἐν τῇ . . . Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Ἀργολικῇ οὕτως
ἐφέρετο κτεινομένων A, om. B T.

τειρομένων codd.

(21) Π 59 ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ τῇ Ῥιανοῦ μετα-
νάστειν, καὶ ἀκούουσι τὴν Βρισηίδα T (ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος
γράφει μεταναστὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν Βρισηίδα ἀκούει B) om. A.
μετανάστην codd.

(22) Π 127 ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ ἐρωήν A, om. B T.

ἐρωήν vulg.: ἰωήν (Ar.) l p A B C N 4 O 5 V 32.

(23) P 134-6 παρὰ Ζηνοδότῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Χία οὐκ ἦσαν οἱ
γ' στίχοι A, om. B T.

hab. codd.

(24) Σ 39-49 ὁ τῶν Νηρείδων χορὸς προηθέτηται καὶ παρὰ
Ζηνοδότῳ . . . ὁ δὲ Καλλίστρατος οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ φησὶν
αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι A, om. B T.

hab. codd.

(25) Σ 502 . . . ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπίπνυνον
. . . A (T), om. B.

ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπνυνον codd.

(26) Σ 538 ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ εἰμά τ' ἔχε A, om. B T.

εἰμα δ' codd.

(27) T 56 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Χία ὄνειαρ ἐγέγραπτο, ἐν τῇ
Μασσαλιωτικῇ ἄμεινον A T, om. B.

ἄρειον codd.

(28) T 76 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Χία τοῖσι δ'
ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | 76 a μῆνιν ἀναστε-
νάχων καὶ ὑφ' ἑλκεος ἄλγεα πάσχων | (Did.) A T, om. B.

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαμέμνων codd.

(29) T 86 παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ τῇ Χία νεικείουσιν A,
om. B T.

νεικείεσκον codd.

(30) T 96 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Χίᾳ φαρμέν ἔμμεναι, ἡθικῶς A, om. B T.

φασ' codd.

(31) T 117 μείς ἐν τῇ Χίᾳ μής A, om. B T.

μείς codd.: μής O 2.

(32) T 386 . . . ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τῷ δ' αὐτε A (γράφεται αὐτε T), om. B.

εὔτε vulg.: αὐτε l T V 1 V 16: ὥστε V 10.

(33) T 62 ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐκ θρόνου ὦρτο· οὕτως καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ A, om. B T.

ἄλτο codd.

(34) T 188 . . . ἐν τῇ Χίᾳ δὲ βοῶν ἐπι A (Aph. Rhian.), om. B T.

ἄπο codd.

(35) T 308 αἱ διὰ τῶν πόλεων λίπωνται εἶχον ἀντὶ τοῦ γένωνται A, om. B T.

γένωνται vulg.: λίπωνται p 9.

(36) Φ 11 ἔναι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις νήχοντ' A, om. B T.

ἔννεον codd.

(37) Φ 86 ἔναι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἀνασσε A = οἱ δὲ χωρὶς [τοῦ ι] T, om. B.

ἀνάσσει vulg.: ἀνασσε p 9 h r U 10 V 1 V 16 al.

(38) Φ 88 ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων A, om. B T.

πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας codd.

(39) Φ 126 . . . ἡ δὲ Χίᾳ μελαίνῃ φρίχ' ὑπαίξει T.

μέλαιναν φρίχ' ὑπαλύξει vulg.: ὑπαίξει c h p r A B C N 1 al.

(40) Φ 162 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ ὁ δ' ἀμάρτη δούρασιν ἄμφω A = ἄμφω ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ T.

ἀμφίς codd.

(41) Φ 282 ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ εἰρχθέντα T, om. A B p Amm.

ἐρχθέντ' codd.

(42) Φ 290-2 ἐν δὲ τῷ εἰ τῶν διορθωτικῶν ὁ αὐτὸς [sc. Seleucus] ἀθετεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἐξῆς β̄ ὡς περισσοῦς, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Κρητικῇ p Amm., om. A B T.

(43) Φ 351 αἱ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἡδὲ κύπαιρον εἶχον A T,
om. B.

κύπειρον codd.

(44) Φ 454 οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος τηλεδαπάων· αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν
πόλεων θηλυτεράων A T, om. B.

τηλεδαπάων codd.

(45) Φ 492 ἐν τῇ Χία καὶ Κυπρία πολλὰ λισσομένης Ge.,
om. A B T.

ἐντροπαλιζομένην codd.

(46) Φ 535 τινὲς δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπ' ἄψ θέμεναι A,
om. B T. (ἐπανθέμεναι Ar.)

ἐπ' ἄψ θέμεναι codd.

(47) Φ 576 αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων φθάμενός τις T, om. A B.

μιν vulg.: τις h: περ d.

(48) X 51 αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παιδὶ φίλῃ A T, om. B.

παιδὶ γέρων codd.

(49) X 93 . . . ἐναι δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις διὰ τοῦ ὀρέστερον
καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ μένησι δοκεύῃ A T, om. B.

ὀρέστερος, μένησι codd. (ὀρέστερον Bm 5 P 3 A ss.).

(50) X 294 αἱ τῶν πόλεων ἐβόα T, om. A B.

ἐκάλει codd.

(51) Ψ 77 ἔν τισι τῶν πολιτικῶν οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ζωοί γε A,
om. B T.

So Aeschines in Tim. 149, γρ. A. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ζωοί γε
codd.

(52) Ψ 206 γρ. ἐς δῆμον, ὥς αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων A T, om. B.

γαῖαν codd.

(53) Ψ 870 ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα
Μηριόνης ἐπεθήκατ' οἷστον | τόξω· ἐν γὰρ πᾶσιν ἔχεν πάλαι
ὥς ἴθυνεν A T, om. B.

ἐξείρυσσε χειρὸς | τόξον· ἀτὰρ δὴ οἷστον codd.

(54) Ψ 879 . . . ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ λιάσθη A T, om. B.

λίασθεν vulg.: λιάσσεν Ar. W 2 D m. r.: λιάσθη p 13
O 8 W 3.

(55) Ω 30 παρ' Ἀριστοφάνει καὶ τισι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἣ οἱ
κεχαρισμένα δῶρ' ὀνόμηνε A, om. B T.

ἣ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν codd.

(56) Ω 82 ἔνιαι τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπ' ἰχθύσι πῆμα φέρουσα
A, om. B T.

κῆρα vulg.: πῆμα Plato, Ion 538 D.

(57) Ω 109 . . . ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ὀτρύνουσιν· οὕτως καὶ
ἡ Χία A. ἡ Μασσ. ὀτρύνουσιν T, om. B.

ὀτρύνεσκον codd.

(58) Ω 192 . . . ἡ δὲ Μασσαλιωτικὴ πολλὰ κεκεύθει A =
ἐνιοι T, om. B.

κεχάνδει codd.

(59) Ω 304 ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ ταμὴ μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα
T, om. A B.

πρόχον θ' ἅμα χερσὶν codd.

(60) Ω 332 ἐν τῇ Χίᾳ καταβάντε A T, om. B.

προφανέντε codd.

(61) α 38 ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ γράφει πέμψαντες Μαίης
ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸν νιόν H 3 U 5.

ἐρμεῖαν πέμψαντες εὐσκοπον ἀργεῖφόντην codd.

(62) α 97-102 προηθετοῦντο κατ' ἓνια τῶν ἀντιγράφων οἱ
στίχοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν οὐδ' ἦσαν U 5 T.

hab. codd. (asteriscos praefig L 4).

(63) α 424 δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο]
ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀργολικῇ προστίθεται (= H 482 al.) H 3 U 5 M 3
M 4 Laur. 57. 32.

hab. codd.

(64) ξ 280 ἡ Αἰολικὴ ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀνέσας H 3.

δέ μ' ἔσας codd.

(65) ξ 331 . . . ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς ἐπισπένδων H 3 V 4.

ἀποσπένδων codd.

(66) σ 98 ἡ Αἰολὶς χανὼν H 3.

μακῶν codd.

To these we must add the anonymous additions (one omission) in schol. T.

B 848 a (ad Φ 140) οἱ μὲν ὑποτάσσουσι = ed. Euripidea
al. ap. Ammon. (Ox. Pap. 221).

B 855 a b (ad T 329) τινὲς δὲ καὶ φέρουσι = Callisthenes
ap. Strab. 542.

Θ 130 a b ἐν τισι τῶν παλαιῶν.

N 367 a τινὲς ἐπάγουσιν.

432 a b c τινὲς ὑποτάσσουσιν (κούριον is ἀπ. λεγ.).

Ξ 231 a τινὲς γράφουσιν. This v. is found in p 60 (s. iii-iv P.C.).

241 a b τινὲς ἐπάγουσιν.

279 a τινὲς γράφουσιν.

360 a ἐπάγουσί τινες.

O 5 a προστιθέασι.

21 a b τινὲς γράφουσι (μύδρους is ἀπ. λεγ.).

78 a τινὲς γράφουσι.

689 a τινὲς ἐπισυνάπτουσι (= X 459).

Π 867 a τινὲς γράφουσι.

P 545 τινὲς οὐδὲ γράφουσι.

Σ 551 a (ad 483) ἔντισιν ἐγράφετο (perh. from Agallis).
(Ἐλευσίνιος is ἀπ. λεγ.).

That these entries are anonymous is due to the compression of scholia in general, that there are more such anonymous entries in T is a peculiarity of that collection.¹ To judge from the coincidences B 848 a 855 a b the anonymi are often the authors of the κατ' ἀνδρα. On the other hand p 60 brings unexpected diplomatic confirmation to Ξ 231 a.

Here we add the evidence of Ve² (bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, no. 6, and Madrid bibl. Nac. 71, s. ix-x, first published by Osann, *Anecdota Romanum*, 1851, p. 5) in the preface to the scholia minora contained in that MS. (f. 3 v.). Here we learn from Aristoxenus ἐν ᾧ Πραξιδαμαντείων that (in the fourth century at latest) κατὰ τινας the *Iliad* began

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
ὅππως δὴ μῆνίς τε χόλος θ' ἔλε Πηλείωνα
Ἀητοῦς τ' ἀγλαὸν υἱόν· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεῖς

¹ On the age of the scholia which we possess in the versions A B T and Eust. see p. 149.

² Ve was copied and abridged by Lascaris in cod. Madrid 7210. In another of his note-books, Madrid 4629, he took from Ve the Aristarchean signs and *vita* VI abridged. [In my edition of the *Vita Herodotea* Ma 2 has several times been printed for Ma 4. Ma 2 (Madrid 4629) does not contain the *Vita Herod.*, and Ma 4 should be read for it.]

(These three verses cover *A* 1-9, and resemble in the actual *Iliad B* 484 *A* 218 *Ξ* 508 and especially *Π* 112, 113.) To continue, Nicanor and Crates ἐν τοῖς διορθωτικοῖς said that the *Iliad* of Apellicon¹ began

Μούσας αἰίδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον.

Apellicon's *Iliad* must have been old, or Apellicon, who was a collector, would not have bought it. The line somewhat resembles line 1 of the *Ilias parva*. Both exordia regard the Muses as plural, both give prominence to Apollo. It is also hymnal, cf. h. H. xii, xviii, xxv.

Both editions are examples of omissions and abridgements, and in so far resemble the κατὰ πόλεις.

Some comments may be made on the πολιτικάί:

(1) This tradition is very defective. In books *Δ*, *H-A*, and nearly the whole of the *Odyssey* there is no record of πολιτικάί, a circumstance clearly due to chance. Moreover nos. 2, 3, 5, 11, 12, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 46, 51, 55, 56 depend on *A* only, nos. 13, 21, 39, 41, 47, 50, 59 on *T* only; no. 42 is found only in *p* Amm., no. 45 only in the thirteenth-century Ge., no. 10 only in the scholia used by Eustathius. Eustathius' mention serves also to establish no. 15. Further, two mentions (nos. 4, 24) are given on the authority of a grammarian (Theagenes, Callistratus, Seleucus). Plainly this class of evidence became inaccessible early in the day, and the references to it fell out of the scholia: many of the readings must be concealed under the usual equivalents (we trace among

¹ The emendation Ἀπελλικῶνος (made by Nauck, *Lexicon Vindobonense*, p. 273) is beyond doubt. It is strange that Crates, two generations older than Apellicon (who died 84 A.C., see Dziatzko in Pauly, vol. i), testified to his manuscript. The real authority is Nicanor, and what he said about Crates has perished in the process of compression. We may imagine that Crates in his διορθωτικά or διόρθωσις mentioned this copy, which Apellicon afterwards bought. Apellicon may have bought it at Pergamus (and it may have belonged to that library), since he made a purchase at Scepsis καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων εἴ τι παλαιὸν ἦν καὶ ἀπόθεον Posidonius ap. Athen. 214 E: cf. Strabo 609, 644; Plutarch, *Sulla* 26; Schmid, *Philologus*, 1902, 633 sqq.

reported cases the following: *πάσαι*, nos. 6, 7, 8; *εν τινι*, no. 10; *γράφεται*, no. 32; *οἱ δέ*, nos. 18, 37; *ἔνιοι*, no. 58), for instance, in some of the mentions in cod. T. No equation has yet been found between *ἡ Χία*, &c., and *αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων*, but the equivalence can hardly be doubted. The relatively greater frequency of the Massiliensis (Massiliensis 29, Chia 14, Argive 8) is due to an accident, e. g. it came first in a list.

(2) The meaning of the titles *Μασσαλιωτική*, *Χία*, &c., or collectively *ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων*, is entirely obscure. We have still the evidence that was before Villoison and Wolf. The former (*Homeri Ilias*, 1788, Proleg. xxvi) saw in these books editions owned by communities or written at their order; but no evidence or parallel is forthcoming¹ except the Athenian official copy of the dramatists, Plutarch, *vit. X Or.* (Lycurgus) 841 F *εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν κωμῶδων . . . τὸν δὲ ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῇ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματεῖα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ παρ' αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι.*² This regulation, which is confirmed by the notices, in the scholia to Euripides, of lines wanting in, or added to copies, or 'superfluous', may have applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to other poets, and when Aeschines calls on the court official to read Homer's lines,³ the court may have had a public copy at its disposal. But it does not follow that the same institution obtained in Massilia and Sinope, 'Crete' and 'Cyprus', and there is more evidence for Wolf's view (Prol. clxxv) that these titles, single or collective, represent the countries from which Ptolemy's agents procured copies

¹ There was a *Κρητική*, but the Cretans according to the oft quoted sentence (Plato, *Laws* 680 c) οὐ σφόδρα χρώνται τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν.

² See the references in Pearson, *Frag. Soph.* i, p. xxxiv.

³ In *Timarch.* 147 ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὰ ἔπη τὰ περὶ τούτων ἃ "Ὁμηρος πεποίηκε . . . 149 ἀναγίνωσκε δὲ ἃ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάφους αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι λέγει . . . 150 ἀνάγνωθι . . . But cf. Dem. xix. 254 of Solon. Later the expression became a rhetorical commonplace. Cf. p. 257.

for the Museum. The analogies come from Galen's statements, xvii. 1. 606, Kühn (in Hipp. *Epidem.* iii):—

Galen is dealing with the case of the *κυναγχική* reported by Hippocrates, *Epid.* iii. 7, Kühlewein, and mistrusts the length of time the patient is recorded to have lived: he mistrusts the number of days mentioned in some editions, and in particular the 'characters', that is, the abbreviations containing routine details of the case said to have been added by Mnemon, whose copy of this book of Hippocrates was in the Alexandrian Library. He thinks it best to give once for all the account of these *χαρακτῆρες*, which he takes from the first book of the commentaries of Zeuxis in the same book. Zeuxis, according to Greenhill in Smith's Dictionary, 'may be placed about the middle of the third century B.C.' He was therefore a contemporary of the Library. (He says, p. 605 λέλεκται μὲν οὖν ἂ μέλλω λέγειν ὑπὸ Ζεύξιδος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἐς τὸ προκείμενον βιβλίον ὑπομνημάτων, whom he repeats ἐπειδὴ τὰ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος ὑπομνήματα μηκέτι σπουδαζόμενα σπανίζει.) It was disputed whether Mnemon took this book out of the Alexandrian library to read it and returned it after inserting these abbreviations in similar ink and writing: or did he bring the book from Pamphylia to suit Ptolemy's regulations; ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ Παμφυλίας κεκομικέναι, καὶ φιλότιμον περὶ βιβλία τὸν τε βασιλέα τῆς Αἰγύπτου Πτολεμαῖον οὕτω γενέσθαι φασὶν ὥς καὶ τῶν καταπλεόντων ἀπάντων τὰ βιβλία κελεῦσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κομισθῆναι καὶ ταῦτα εἰς καινοὺς χάρτας γράφοντα διδόναι μὲν τὰ γραφέντα τοῖς δεσπόταις, ὧν καταπλευσάντων αἱ βίβλοι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰς δὲ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἀποτίθεσθαι τὰ κομισθέντα, καὶ εἶναι τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ πλοίων. A case of this was this *Epidemics*, book iii, ἐπιγεγραμμένον τῶν ἐκ πλοίων κατὰ διορθωτὴν Μνήμονα Σιδίτην, ἔνιοι δ' οὐ κατὰ διορθωτὴν ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασὶν ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς τοῦνομα τοῦ Μνήμονος. ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν καταπλευσάντων ἅμα βίβλοις ἐπέγραφον οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπηρέται τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀποτιθεμένοις εἰς τὰς ἀποθήκας. οὐ γὰρ εὐθέως εἰς τὰς

βιβλιοθήκας αὐτὰ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἐν οἴκοις τισὶ κατατίθεσθαι σωρηδόν. ὅτι δ' οὕτως ἐσπούδαζε περὶ τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων κτήσιν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκείνος οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι μαρτύριόν φασιν ὁ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἔπραξε. δοὺς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐνέχυρα πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ λαβὼν τὰ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Αἰσχύλου βιβλία χάριν τοῦ γράψαι μόνον ἐξ αὐτῶν, εἴτ' εὐθέως ἀποδοῦναι σῶα, κατασκευάσας πολυτελῶς ἐν χάρταις καλλίστοις, ἃ μὲν ἔλαβε παρὰ Ἀθηναίων κατέσχευεν, ἃ δ' αὐτὸς κατεσκεύασεν ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῖς παρακαλῶν ἔχειν τε τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα καὶ λαβεῖν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδοσαν βιβλίων παλαιῶν τὰ καινὰ. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ καινὰς ἐπεπόμφει βίβλους ἀλλὰ κατεσχέκει τὰς παλαιάς, οὐδὲν ἦν ἄλλο ποιεῖν εἰληφόσι γε τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ συνθήκαις τοιαύταις ὥς αὐτοὺς κατασχεῖν εἰ κάκεινος κατὰσχοι τὰ βιβλία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔλαβόν τε τὰ καινὰ καὶ κατέσχεον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον. (The expression ἐκ τῶν πλοίων recurs p. 619 οὔτε τὸ κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν βιβλιοθήκην εὑρεθὲν οὔτε τὸ ἐκ τῶν πλοίων οὔτε τὸ κατὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Βαγχείου γενομένην ἔκδοσιν ἔχειν φάσκων. . . .)

So, according to this contemporary if not eyewitness, the Egyptian administration recognized age as a criterion of value in a book, and consequently gave 'new lamps for old'. This is borne out by the practice of the earliest commentators on Hippocrates, Zeuxis himself, Heraclides, Baccheus, and Asclepiades, who collected MSS. of Hippocrates three hundred years old in their day.¹ 'Age', τὰ παλαιότατα, and similar epithets are usual in Galen himself and the Latin antiquarians.² These old MSS. arrived in Egypt in such numbers that they were 'stored in piles in warehouses' before they were taken into the library

¹ Galen xviii. 2. 630 (= xvi. 3) prooemium to Hipp. κατ' ἡγηρέων (the text is evidently unsound). He says the critics (οἱ μεταγράφωντες) have altered τὰς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γραφάς as they will, namely Dioscorides and Artemidorus ὁ Καπίτῳ; he therefore follows the older commentators (631); and he must refer to these when he says (630) τινὲς μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἀνευρεῖν ἐσπούδασαν πρὸ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν γεγραμμένα . . . τὰ δ' οὖν πάντα παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξηγησαμένοις κατανοῆσαι προῦθέμην.

² e. g. Gellius xviii. 5. 11; Pliny, N. H. xiii. 83.

and labelled τῶν ἐκ πλοίων with the name of the diorthotes (when there was one). This seems a fair ground for supposing that the πολιτικάί were copies of Homer labelled, e. g. τῶν ἐκ πλοίων ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας or the like. (Wolf's alteration in Galen of πλοίων into πόλεων though natural does not seem necessary.) The eagerness of the Kings of Alexandria and Pergamum for 'old books' led in fact to the manufacture of pseudepigrapha (Galen xv. 104 and 109, xvi. 5) and of spurious old books (David in Arist. *Categ.* 28 a, cf. Bywater, *J. Ph.* i. 24).

For the cheat we may compare the dealings of the people of Antioch with the Cypriotes, Libanius, or. xi. 112: the Antiochenes, having got the leave of the Cypriotes to make copies of Cypriote divinities, substituted the copies for the originals and carried the latter off ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Κυπρίων.

Another analogy may be drawn from the account of Origen in Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* vi. 16: he produced commentaries on the SS. οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον, and the account continues ἐφ' ᾧ διατὴν ἀδηλόγητα τίνος ἄρ' εἶεν οὐκ εἰδώς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὖροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίοις Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τοιῷδε τόπῳ. He increased the usual four expositions of the Psalms to seven, of which ἐπὶ μιᾷς σεσημείωται ὡς ἐν Ἱεριχοῖ ἡϋρημένης ἐν πίθῳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου. He catalogued them according to the places of their purchase and their age, agreeing both with the Alexandrians and with Galen. The person-tradition (as Aristotle's and Alexander's edition of Homer) is shown in the translation of Symmachus, which he had from Juliana, who had received it from Symmachus himself (c. 17).

(3) More, and in fact our only, information about the πολιτικάί can be obtained from analysing their readings:

(a) Forms:

μαχήσομαι Mass. Arg. Sinop., not -έσσ- A 298.

οἶνοχόει Mass. Arg., not ὦν- A 598.

ὄρευσ Chia, not ὄρεος Γ 10.

λωτεῦντα Mass., not -οῦντα *M* 283.

κεκόπων Chia, not κεκοπώς *N* 60.

μήs Chia, not μείς *T* 117.

(b) Omissions:

P 134-6 Chia, Zen.

Σ 39-49 Arg., ath. Zen. Ar.

Φ 290-2 Cret., ath. Seleucus.

α 97-102 Mass., ath. Ar.

(c) Additions:

T 76 Mass. Chia.

α 424 Arg.

(a) These forms agree in resisting the effect of common Greek, and are all correct as against their contraries. Further, slight dialectal peculiarities appear: λωτεῦντα is Ionic, κεκόπων Aeolic (as is κεκλήγοντες *M* 125 al., which has survived in many MSS., πεπλήγων *B* 264, τινές ap. s *B*), and, as the Chia had it, may be added to the Aeolic part of the mixed dialect of the island (pp. 103 sqq.); for μήs the evidence is the Heracleian tablets (ib.). "Ορευσ *T* 10 has parallels in Homer (Smyth, *Ionic*, § 531). Κύπαιρον Φ 351 is said to be Doric.

On the whole the dialect of the πολιτικάί (with the exception of the Chia) is the same as that of the κοιναί and of one another. The Aeolis is not in Aeolic, nor the Sinopic and Massaliot in the tongues of these places. On the other hand, as the copies had resisted the uniformizing influence of time, they may fairly be called old, perhaps quite old, if Xenophon in the well-known story found Athenian books exported to the Euxine (*Anab.* vii. 5. 4). This fact and the distance of their towns from the centre of the Greek world accounted for the survival of their characteristics. Their age also agrees with the principles of the Alexandrian collectors.

(b) Their vocabulary, forms of words apart, does not present marked characteristics. The versions of lines or phrases (*A* 97, 381, *B* 258, Φ 870, Ω 30, 304, α 38) and the

alternatives for words (*A* 424, 435, 585, *M* 281, *Ξ* 349, 418, *O* 44, *Π* 127, *Σ* 502, 538, *T* 86, 386, *Τ* 62, 188, 308, *Φ* 11, 86, 126, 162, 282, 351, 492, 535, 576, *X* 51, 93, 291, *Ψ* 77, 879, *Ω* 82, 109, 192, 332, *ξ* 280, 331, *σ* 98) though interesting in different degrees do not warrant conclusions upon relative antiquity or dialect. *T* 56 *ὄνειρα* (*Chia*) and *ἄρειον* are a perfect anagrammatismus. *B* 865 *γυραῖη* (*Mass.*) for *γυγαίη* means 'round', *τροχοειδής*, see *Catalogue*, p. 164 n. *E* 461 *τρωιάς* (*Sinop. Cypr.*) no doubt is right and preserves an adjectival form which disappeared in most of the variants. The *v. l.* *N* 363 (*Argol.*) looks, as the scholiast suggests, like a conjecture. *Π* 59 (*Mass.*) is not clear. *Φ* 454 is mysterious.

(c) Of the omissions *P* 134–6 contains a simile and is therefore dispensable. *Σ* 39–49 is the list of the Nereids and Hesiodic as the scholiast says in character, perhaps in origin. *Φ* 290–2 are dispensable. *α* 97–102 are dispensable and taken from other Homeric contents. *α* 424 is dispensable.

We conclude that the *πολιτικάί*, being older editions, show an older stage of language and a restricted text containing fewer lines. They resemble Apellicon's purchase and the other copy known to Aristoxenus (p. 289).

In some of these characteristics they have connexions:

with Aeschines *Ψ* 77 *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι* for *οὐ μὲν γάρ*.

with Plato *Ω* 82 *πῆμα* for *κῆρα*.

These confirm the age of the *πολιτικάί*.

Their effect on the mediaeval text cannot be expected to be great, considering the weak tradition. We notice the following survivals of influence:

out of 66 cases

in 46 the reading of the *πολιτικάί* is in no MS.,

13	„	„	„	„	the minority,
3	„	„	„	„	the majority,
3	„	„	„	„	all.

(In 1 the *πολιτικάί* are divided.)

C

I do not adduce the last class of evidence derivable from the scholia, that of the editions *κατ' ἄνδρα*. Their name suggests that they are the designed work of critics, and to use their readings as diplomatic evidence, in the case of the grammarians who begin with Zenodotus, would be a *petitio principii*. One thing this category of editions does give us, a determination of time. The editions of Euripides and Antimachus take us back to 400 B.C. or further. It is therefore well if on this ground only to exhibit the readings of the latter.¹

‘*Η κατ’ Ἀντίμαχον*

(1) *A* 298 οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ἡ οὐ διὰ τοῦ εῖς καὶ ἡ Μασσαλιωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀργολικὴ καὶ ἡ Σινωπικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀντιμάχου . . . A, om. B T.

μαχέσσομαι vulg.: -ήσομαι *b d g r A C D T* al.

(2) *A* 424 [λέξις Ἀριστάρχου] . . . οὕτως δ’ εὔρομεν [κατὰ] καὶ ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμαχείῳ . . . A, om. B T.

μετὰ vulg.: κατὰ *P 15 uv. Ve V 1*.

(3) *A* 598 οὕτως οἰνοχόει Ἀρίσταρχος ἱακῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ καὶ Μασσαλιωτικῇ καὶ Ἀντιμαχείῳ . . . A. ἱακῶς πᾶσαι T, om. B.

οἰνοχόει vulg.: οἶν- *Bm 2 L 8 (όν-)*.

(4) *E* 461 ἐν τῇ Σινωπικῇ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμάχου Τρωάς ἦν σὺν τῷ ι T, def. A, om. B.

τρώων vulg.: τρώας and τρώας minority.

(5) *N* 60 . . . ἐν δὲ τῇ Χίᾳ καὶ Ἀντιμάχου κεκοπών A. ἐν δὲ τῇ Χίᾳ sol. T, om. B.

κεκοπών and *κεκοφών* codd.

(6) *Φ* 397 Ἀντίμαχος δὲ γράφει ὑπονόσφιον T, om. A B.

πανόψιον vulg.: ὑπονόσφιον *ϐ 12 ss., γρ. P 2*.

¹ The interest of the *Εὐριπίδεις* lies in other provinces: see *Catalogue*, p. 155. It added two lines, B 848 a, 866 a.

(7) Φ 607 παρὰ Ἀντιμάχῳ καὶ Ῥιανῶ πύλαι δ' ἔμπληντο ἀλέντων A, om. B T.

πόλις δ' ἔμπλητο codd.

(8) X 336 οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον . . . ἐλκήσουσι κακῶς A T (ἀϊκακῶς T = ἀι(sser. κα)κῶς).

ἐλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς codd.

(9) Ψ 604 οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον νόημα γράφουσιν A T, om. B. νεοίη codd.

(10) Ψ 870, 871 ἐν δὲ τῇ κατ' Ἀντίμαχον οὕτως·
σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξείλετο τόξον
χερσίν A.

Ἀντίμαχος δὲ
σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης ἐξείρυσε Τεύκρου
τόξον κτλ. T, om. B.

. . . ἐξείρυσε χειρὸς
τόξον· ἀτὰρ δὴ οἰστὸν κτλ. codd.

(11) Ω 71 ὅπερ ἀγνοήσαντες οἱ περὶ Ἀντίμαχον ἐποίησαν κλέψαι μὲν ἀμήχανον A, om. B T.

κλέψαι μὲν ἑάσομεν codd.

(12) Ω 753 Ἀντίμαχος μιχθαλόεσαν T, om. A B.

ἀμιχθαλόεσαν vulg.: μιχθ- N 4 corr.: ὀμ- P 11 V 23 (= h).

(13) α 85 ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀντίμαχον Ὠγυλίην γράφεται· διαφέρουσι δὲ οἱ τόποι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὠγυγίαν ἐντὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἐσπέραν, τὴν δὲ Ὠγυλίαν κατὰ Κρήτην Ἡσιόδοδος [fr. 70, cf. 96. 20] φησι κεῖσθαι H 3 N 4 Pal. U 5.

In 1, 3, 4, 5 Antimachus shares the early dialectal and other forms which we have seen were in the πολιτικάί; as a Colophonian (there are no inscriptions to prove this dialect) and a neighbour he approved of the Chia's Aeolic κεκόπων. We learn from him that these spellings stood in texts about the archontate of Euclides. The agreements between him and the Chia, Mass., Argol., Sinop., Cypr. suggest that these πολιτικάί were of the same period. His ὑπονόσφιον (6) and μιχθαλόεσαν (12) are mysterious: the latter shows he did not hold with Wernicke's Law, any

more than in his own verse, fr. 19. 2. No. 13 shows Hesiodic influence.

Papyri.

The present generation has given us a third class of evidence beside that of quotations in authors and references to editions, namely, fragments of editions themselves, that is, of papyrus copies in use in Egypt as far back as the third century B.C. Like epigraphic evidence, that from papyri has the inestimable advantage of coming direct, without intermediary, from its period. In the case of Homer it is superior to the references to editions, and resembles the quotations in authors, in that it is datable, at least to the century. Its weakness is the uncertainty in which we are as to the kind and class of edition that these fragments belong to, and as to the importance, if any, to be attached to their local character. They are books in use in the provincial towns of Egypt.

The Homeric papyri at present known, earlier than A.D. 1, are the following (I repeat the designations from the Oxford editions of Homer):

S. III.

Iliad.

	no. of lines.	new lines.	per cent.
p 7 cont. Θ 17-258 with omissions	= about 90	? 31	33
p 12 cont. parts of Φ, X, Ψ	= about 282	? 27	10
p 40 cont. parts of B, Γ	= about 95	13	14
p 41 cont. parts of Γ, Δ, E	= 73	1	1.3
p 59 cont. II 484-9	= 6	none	—
<i>Odyssey.</i>			
p 19 cont. υ 41-68	= 28	3	10

Odyssey.

S. III-II.

Iliad.

p 19 cont. Δ 404-47	= 44	none	—
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S. II.			
<i>Iliad.</i>			
	no. of lines.	new lines.	per cent.
p 5 cont. A 788-M 11	= 72	9	12·5
p 8 cont. A 502-37	= 36	5	14
p 37 cont. B 95-210	= 116	none	—
<i>Odyssey.</i>			
p 22 cont. α 81-102	= 22	1	4
p 30 cont. δ 796-ε 40	= 92	5	5·5
S. II-I.			
<i>Iliad.</i>			
p 18 cont. Θ 332-6, 362-9	= 13	none	—
p 10 cont. Θ 64-75, 96-116	= 33	none	—
p 102 cont. E 387-91	= 15	none	—
S. I.			
<i>Iliad.</i>			
p 11 cont. Σ 1-218, 311-617	= 526	none	—
p 13 cont. parts of Ψ and Ω	= 1069	none	—
p 29 cont. B 50-8	= 9	none	—
p 45 cont. Ψ 718-32	= 15	none	—
p 47 cont. N 184-314, 317-41, 345-67	= 179	none	—
p 51 cont. Σ 596-608	= 13	5	37
p 67 cont. Γ 185-9, 207-16	= 15	none	—
p 84 cont. Ω 336-401	= 6	none	—
<i>Odyssey.</i>			
p 17 cont. ρ 410-28	= 19	none	—

I have drawn up this table for convenience of reference and to exhibit the proportion of the additions. But there are disadvantages in a numerical method, and many of the figures are meaningless. Thus from p 7 having 30 new lines in 90 in Θ,¹ we are not justified in assuming the same rate for the rest of the poem; as little can we assume uniformity in p 5 and p 8, or in p 30 of the *Odyssey*. The percentages are even more unfounded. Where fragments

¹ Θ is notoriously patchwork, see p. 189.

are spread over several books, as in \mathfrak{P} 12, \mathfrak{P} 41, the result is more substantial. Unfortunately, also, no two Ptolemaic MSS. overlap or coincide with each other (or with later MSS. except in verbal variants): it is therefore impossible to say if the extra lines found in one papyrus were found in others, many others, or normally: or if they are peculiar to the papyrus in question. A very few lines cannot count as negative evidence: thus \mathfrak{P} 59, \mathfrak{P} 18, \mathfrak{P} 29, \mathfrak{P} 84 admit no conclusion *ex silentio*.

On the evidence as it stands we conclude that in the third century both long and short texts existed; in the second both existed; in the first the long texts barely survived. This result agrees with the quotations. Are we also to accept the proportions? and say that in the third century the long texts were normal, and as common as medium ones in the second? The literal proportions are:

s. iii, long 4: medium 2 (omitting \mathfrak{P} 59 and counting \mathfrak{P} 19);

s. ii, long 4: medium 4 (counting in \mathfrak{P} 18, \mathfrak{P} 20, \mathfrak{P} 102; the percentage of additions also is lower).

This is what the papyrologists are inclined to do. But the result is contrary to the result for the fourth century of counting the quotations in Plato, and to a less extent in Aeschines (p. 256, 7): and therefore it may be safer to say that the papyri of the third and second century are both too few and too scanty to allow of the proportions of the two kinds of text being calculated.

No argument can be based on the locality of the Ptolemaic papyri, since the like additions, identical in kind, are found in the Athenian authors Plato and Aeschines.¹ Nor does the character of the supplements afford a clue to their age: they are practically all formulaic, repetitions of phrases already in the poems. All that can be said is that the papyri which offer these supplements have late forms as variants in the normal parts of the poem, e.g. in \mathfrak{P} 5 *αντεμολησεν* Δ 809 (see p. 215), in \mathfrak{P} 12 *υπονοσφιον* Φ 397, *κλεύσωμαι* Ψ 244.

¹ If any conclusion were drawn it would be that the papyri were particularly exposed to Alexandrian influence. But they are not.

CHAPTER XIII

ORIGIN OF THE VULGATE

THE evidence we have collected — from quotations, references to editions, and papyri—is the material with which we have to settle the most important circumstance in the transmission of the Homeric text, namely, the origin of the text which we find universal in the Roman period and which was afterwards propagated without change; it is usually known as the Homeric vulgate. Opinions about its character and origin are very different.¹

This evidence, of both quotations and papyri, is casual. Incalculability belongs equally to a quotation dictated by the needs of a philosopher or a historian and to the hazards of excavation or purchase. Papyri have the advantage that they are relatively continuous and often offer a long sequence of lines. A quotation from its nature seldom extends far. On the other hand the requirements of an orator or an encyclopaedist may cause them to range widely over Homer, whereas a strip of papyrus is local. Papyrus evidence as far as it goes is positive, and had there been more papyri would be decisive. As it is, when we find six third-century Homer papyri, of which four show long texts and two medium, we can infer nothing beyond the existence at that period of both categories.

As we have seen, amplified texts existed as far back as the eighth century. To some extent the period of the pre-papyrus additions can be inferred from the character of the lines (see c. ix). As the evidence down to 100 B.C. does not allow us to estimate the relative number of the two classes of books, it is perhaps wrong to call the longer texts 'eccentric' (a term I invented) or 'wild'. I use the non-

¹ See beside Ludwich's book already mentioned Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri* i. 67 sqq.; Cauer, *Grundfragen*³, 34 sqq.; Murray, *Rise of Greek Epic*², 98 sqq.; Bolling, *A. J. P.* xxxv. 125, xxxvii. 1 and 452.

committal words 'long', 'medium', and 'short'. The longer texts must have begun in the hands of the Homeridae and the post-Homeric poets, and continued developing in bulk till 100 B. C. This seems a natural course for them to take. What brought the long texts to an end and established a vulgate, at that date, is the question we have to consider.

The usual view is that the extinction of the longer texts, or the establishment of a 'vulgate' in the ordinary sense of the word, was the work of the Alexandrine critics.¹ Here, as sometimes occurs, it is easier to prove a negative than to establish a positive. I am at one with Ludwich in believing that as the Alexandrians had practically no eventual effect (no immediate effect at all) upon the detailed readings of the medium text, so they did not extinguish the longer versions. The belief that they did so is an excellent example of the argument *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Had we nothing but the bare tradition that there were Homeric critics in the third and second century, the conclusion that they created the vulgate would seem guaranteed by all the methods of logic. Down to the second century there were long texts as well as medium. In the first century they ceased. By the end of the second century the great Alexandrian grammarians had long since finished their labours (Aristarchus' floruit in Suidas is 156 B. C.). The culmination of the school and the standardization of the texts corresponded in time. They were therefore causally connected. It might have been thought that the Alexandrian school was slow in bringing its authority to bear upon the publishing trade; and that Zenodotus, Apollonius, Aristophanes, and Aristarchus—not to speak of their disciples—who, especially Zenodotus, athetized and sometimes omitted

¹ Wolf believed this (Prol. 30, 242); to-day it is held by Cauer, Grenfell and Hunt, Murray. Leaf in 1900 (*Iliad*², pref. xx) held that the Alexandrians 'put an end to the commercial texts [i. e. the eccentric texts] and established the vulgate in its rightful position again'. Bolling, *A. J. P.* 1917, holds that the source of our vulgate is a popular text of the *Iliad* based on the edition of Aristarchus.

with fury, ought to have exterminated the long texts before the first century. But the coincidence was striking. Fortunately Providence has put us beyond the power of the 'concomitant variant'. We know what the Alexandrians did, we know what effect they had upon the Homeric text.

The labour of the Alexandrians (to consider them as one body) took two directions. (i). They made verbal and formal alterations in the text, with a view to resisting modernization; (ii) they condemned many lines as unhomeric. They did not eject these lines, they branded them, as it were, with marginal signs—obeli and asterisks—by which their particular fault was conveyed to the reader. Their reasons for these judgements they expounded in their hypomnemata. It is natural to assume that such patient and scientific labour, carried on for a century and a half, must have materially affected the author who was its object. But what is the truth?

(i) I calculated the extent to which Aristarchus' readings are found in the Italian MSS. of the *Iliad*, C. R. 1899, 429 sqq., and in all MSS. of the *Odyssey*, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1910, 74 sqq. The figures for the *Iliad* may require revision,¹ but the proportions are essentially the same. Of Aristarchus' readings in the *Iliad* 664 were known: 120 of them appeared in no MS. at all; 137 occurred sporadically in different MSS.; 49 were the property of one family *h*; 83 occurred in a substantial minority of MSS.; 73 in about half; 80 in a majority; 55 in all MSS. with casual exceptions; 67 in all known MSS. The MSS. in question are late, that is mediaeval, and the Alexandrian influence upon them can only have been indirect. However these figures may stand on revision, it is plain we possess no 'Aristarchean edition', and as the papyri (which are all non-Aristarchean) form a catena from 300 B. C. to A. D. 600, it is also plain that no Aristarchean edition was ever put on the market. Coincidences

¹ I hope to present the complete statistics in the prolegomena to my edition of the *Iliad*.

with Aristarchus in the early papyri (s. iii–ii B.C.) are precursors of Aristarchus; they are among the sources from which he formed his judgements, not the result of his criticism. The papyri written after his death are resolutely ordinary.

(ii) In the second department the Alexandrians did not as a rule remove lines; their ‘omissions’ (οὐκ ἔγραφε) and ‘bracketings’ (περιέγραφε) are negligible and nearly always ascribed to Aristarchus’ predecessors (*A. H. T.* i. 110, ii. 135). Consequently we do not expect their critical judgements to affect the book trade, and the book trade was not affected thereby. There are a few coincidences between Aristarchus’ atheteses and the reading of MSS. *after* his time, but there is no reason to suppose they are other than coincidences; these are :

<i>B</i> 558	παραιτητέον	Ar. om.	¶ 2 ¶ 38 <i>b g h</i> A al.
<i>H</i> 353	ath.	Ar. om.	uv. Dio Prus. lv. 15
<i>I</i> 44	ath.	Ar. om.	T
<i>I</i> 694	ath.	Ar. 694, 5 om.	V 16
Ψ 810	ath.	Ar. om.	V 14
Ω 536	ath.	Ar. om.	V 1 V 23. ¹

Even if we allowed real connexion between Aristarchus and the MS. omissions in these six cases, the fewness of them would show the negligibleness of his influence;² but it is as legitimate in each case to see in the omission a

¹ *C. R.* 1901, 244 : one omission may be mentioned ; E 808 om. Ar. om. L9 V16.

² Plutarch, *Moralia*, vol. vii also made ἀθετήσεις in the text of Hesiod.

O. D. 353 sq. ἐκβάλλει

356 sq. τινες ἐξέβαλον· ὁ δὲ Π. ἐγκρίνει

375 τοῦτον ὁ Π. χαράττει τὸν στίχον

378 ἀδιανόητόν φασιν εἶναι καὶ περιττόν

561–3 τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἐξῆς δύο διαγράφει Π.

654–62 ταῦτα πάντα περὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος . . . ἐμβεβλήσθαι φησιν ὁ Π. οὐδὲν ἔχοντα χρηστόν

757–9 διαγράφει Π. ὡς εὐτελεῖ κτλ.

797 τοὺς πρὸ τούτου τέσσαρας στίχους οὐδὲ μνήμης ὁ Π. ἠξίωσεν ὡς ἂν μὴ φερομένους.

None of these judgements or excisions have had any effect on the text.

descendant of a prae-Aristarchean text, and this is unquestionable in the case of *B* 558.

But we do not rest on negative evidence merely. We can show where the positive results of the Alexandrians' labours are to be found. There are now a certain number of papyri bearing critical signs on their margins; these arranged according to centuries are:

- s. ii B. C. *p* 37
- s. i B. C. *p* 13 *p* 51
- s. ii A. D. *p* 25
- s. ii-iii A. D. *p* 2 *p* 21
- s. iii. A. D. *p* 16
- s. iv A. D. Ox. pap. 687.

It would be absurd to attribute the presence of these signs to any influence but that of Alexandria. We therefore have here specimens of the kind of influence that Alexandria exercised. From the century of Aristarchus downwards, most frequently (though this may be accidental) in the post-Christian period, their signs are found in the margins of texts. This is the visible effect of Alexandria on the book trade. And this, it appears, is the extent to which that influence was exercised.¹ For the texts of these papyri are ordinary: they have neither more nor less lines than the average, and their verbal variants are not particularly Aristarchean. One of them by exception contains a longer text (*p* 51), and is thereby instructive. This papyrus shows after Σ 606 a new line, otherwise unknown, and after 608 four lines from the Shield of Heracles. A better specimen of a long text in the first century before Christ could not be desired. This text has passed through the Alexandrian influence, and stands

¹ Similarly in the case of Alcaeus the edition of Aristophanes and the actual editions of Aristarchus differed according to their use of lectionary (not critical) signs: Hephaestion π. ποιήματος 10 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκαίου ἰδίως κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοφάνειον ἔκδοσιν ὁ ἀστερίσκος ἐπὶ ἑτερομετρίας ἐτίθετο μόνῃς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῦν τὴν Ἀριστάρχειον καὶ ἐπὶ ποιημάτων μεταβολῆς. The two texts were the same, the *σημεῖα* meant different things.

before us with five new lines in thirteen. What did the Alexandrians do to it? They affixed diplae to six lines (604, 605, 608 a b c d), and an obelus to 606 a. Their reasons for making this distinction are not clear. This much is plain: (i) they did not remove any of the lines in question, not even the one they obelized; (ii) notwithstanding their obelization, there are the lines in the book. They found lines, and they left them, in these long texts, exactly as they did in the medium texts. Therefore we see what the Alexandrians did (they marked verses with signs), and what they did not do (they were not able to remove lines). Further, we have the curious statement in the scholia on ρ 150 and 160. On 150 \S H 3 say ἀθετοῦνται ἰς' στίχοι, on 160 \S M 4 and \S V 4 say ἐν τοῖς χαριεστέροις οὗτοι μόντοι οἱ β' ἀθετοῦνται [sc. 160, 161], . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινότεροις ἀπὸ τοῦ ὧς ἔφατο [150] ἕως τοῦ ἐξ ἐμεῦ [165]. The former statement is borne out by the obeli in U 6 and the single bracket in ρ . This seems to show that the Alexandrians were helpless to prevent different versions of their critical judgments appearing in the copies which were furnished with critical signs and therefore intended for the purposes of learning; and, further, that the two classes of editions (χαριέστερα and κοινότερα) continued after their time, differing not at all as far as the text went, but expressing different opinions on the margin. The Alexandrians could not or did not impose uniformity even on the more learned type of edition.

Therefore where we trace Alexandrian influence it did not enforce Alexandrian athetesis, Alexandrian syntax, phonetics or vocabulary. If they had their chance they did not use it.

This is easier to understand if we hold that their 'editions' were not editions in the modern sense, that is so many hundred copies (ἴσα) produced by scribes from a single original. The words ἔκδοσις and διόρθωσις were often verbals and meant 'proposal for edition', and 'revision'. For instance Crates' διόρθωσις was in eight books, which

disposes of its being an 'edition'; its other name was διορθωτικά. If, as has been remarked, Aristarchus' 'edition' had been multiplied and put upon the market, his successors Ammonius and Dionysius Thrax could never have quarrelled about his readings.¹ In point of fact the ἔκδοσις appears to have meant, at least in some cases, the text attached to the ὑπόμνημα.² The argument to Pindar's fifth Olympian tells us that the ode was not to be found in the ἐδάφια (sc. the texts); it was included in Didymus' commentary. The other odes also were there, though they were in the texts as well. The arrangement was usual: in Galen's commentaries on Hippocrates sections of the Hippocratean text are inserted, and in the fourteenth century a text of Homer was let into Eustathius' παρεκβολαί (i. e. in the MS. Paris 2697) as it was in the printed edition. So we understand the uncertainty about the readings of such and such an ἔκδοσις. It had to be looked for in the critic in questions' ὑπόμνημα, and this naturally was lost, rare³ or disputed.⁴ A commentary was caviare to the general, it was not like an edition of a great poet in circulation. This practice, if

¹ A. H. T. i. 38. The like doubt existed among doctors about the views of Erasistratus and Chrysippus, Galen xi. 151 K.

² For the parallel from Hippocrates see *infra*, p. 312. Cf. especially § A on B 111: Aristarchus' reading is inferred from quotations in his commentaries: ἐν γοῦν τῷ πρὸς Φιλητῶν συγγράμματι τῇ γραφῇ [μέγας] κέχρηται . . . ἐν τινι τῶν ἡκριβωμένων ὑπομνημάτων γράφει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν. δ 99 ὀβελίζουσι τινες τὸν στίχον λέγοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι περιττόν. διὰ μέντοι τῶν Ἀρισταρχείων ὑπομνημάτων οὐδὲν φέρεται περὶ τοῦ ἔπους, and therefore the presumption was that Aristarchus did not obelize it. λ 525 the hypomnemata, not editions, are opposed to Aristarchus, Ἀρίσταρχος οὐκ οἶδε τὸν στίχον, ἕνια δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. Much later Epiphanius says (*adv. haer.* xli. 373 Migne) of a variant in Peter εὗρομεν γὰρ ἐν τισιν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῦτο ἐγκείμενον.

³ Compare Galen xvii. 1. 605 τὰ τοῦ Ζεύξιδος ὑπομνήματα μηκέτι σπουδαζόμενα σπανίζει. xix. 57 καὶ τῶν ἐξηγησαμένων γε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ γε διδασκάλου τοῦ Πέλοπος εἴ ποῦ τι καὶ τῶν Νουμισianoῦ ἔχουσιν, ἔστι δ' ὀλίγα διασωζόμενα.

⁴ e. g. Parmeniscus is the authority for Aristarchus' reading § 512, Didymus and Telephus disagree over it § K 53; doubts about it and inferences drawn § K 124 (cf. 378, 397): κατ' ἕνια τῶν ὑπομνημάτων . . . διχῶς οὖν is the expression § M 277; another work is the source of the reading § M 435; difference of tradition again § T 365. The commentaries are referred to as authorities, never the edition itself. The lemmata therefore seem to be meant.

we might assume it general, would explain both the very concrete references to 'editions'—which imply a real book—and the doubt which so often hung over the readings of a particular critic.¹

To proceed: as far as the evidence allows us to follow the Alexandrians' labours, we find that they had no effect on the book trade and the character of the copies produced. We are asked to suppose that there was another side to their activity, of which there is no tradition, as efficacious as any Index. Where we trace them they produced no consequences; to make them affect the book market we have to credit them with a new province. The supporters of the view that the Alexandrians created the common text will explain the want of record of this branch of Alexandrian work somewhat as follows. The contents of the Alexandrians' hypomnemata are known to us only through scholia—composed of abstracts compiled originally by Augustan and Antoninian grammarians—which have assumed the form of marginalia to the ordinary texts. Hence we hear of the Alexandrians' labours only as applied to the ordinary texts: nothing prevents their hypomnemata having contained references to other copies extant in their day, among which longer texts would naturally have been included. Here it was—in the portions of their commentaries which have perished—that the Alexandrians destroyed longer and shorter texts and established the future and present vulgate.

This is not strictly correct. Our scholia A T, even in the form in which we have them, that is as limited to comment on the texts of the MSS. A and T, do contain abundant references to lines which do not occur in either of these MSS. or in any MSS. known to us.² No doubt many of these references have perished;³ in earlier states of these

¹ Of course *ἔκδοσις* also means a 'book', 'publication'; Apoll. dys. *de synt.* i. 1 refers to his own book as *ἡ νῦν βηθησομένη ἔκδοσις*, iv. 16 *κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐκδόσεως*.

² See p. 288 for such references in T.

³ The extant scholia are both deficient and highly compressed. Com-

scholia there were many more: Eustathius' MS. had some which are neither in A nor T. There is nothing to show that the Alexandrians wrote commentaries otherwise than upon texts of practically the same bulk as those we possess: their comments assume a normal text, and the same which we possess. In these commentaries there were references to longer texts. We can go further, we know, thanks to P 51, what they did with regard to such longer texts: they marked them with signs, as they marked our text, and with the same effect, namely *nil*. As we saw, the extra lines in Σ in P 51 are furnished with diplae and an obelus, but the lines are there: so far as the Alexandrians went the signs and possibly the condemnation in a lost comment were inefficacious. Had P 7 passed through their hands what appearance would it show? Its text would be what it is now, but it would bristle with signs, obeli and asterisks, and the comment in the hypomnema would deal out condemnations, *ὅτι εὐτελείς, ὅτι περιττοί, ὅτι ἄλλοθεν μετενηνεγμένοι*—without effect. We have no record that they noticed P 7: we see that they noticed P 51, and we see the result. And generally, if the Alexandrians are given a power over the longer texts which they notoriously did not possess over the medium, on what ground is this done? What protected the medium texts? Owing to what have the medium texts come down to us full of lines which Aristarchus condemned? The supporters of this view should beware lest they invest the medium texts with a sanction or privilege which the longer texts lacked, and in fact give them the character of a vulgate.

At this point we ought to look about for analogies. This form of argument is often abused, since the general conditions of the two phenomena it is sought to analogically connect are disparate. Thus the circumstances of the Greek heroic age and the early Middle Ages on the Continent, in England and in Iceland, are too unlike to allow a conclusion

pare the papyrus-commentaries which have been published, and Strabo's comments, p. 262.

to be drawn to the one phenomenon they have in common, poetry. However, it is notorious that the Greeks and Latins developed criticism and applied it to their classics, and it is probable *a priori* that the conditions of transmission of one of their authors is analogous to that of others.

Two analogies present themselves to Homer, the Hippocratean corpus and the Greek Old Testament.

Hippocrates has come down in an abundant mediaeval tradition (see Ilberg, *Rh. Mus.* xlii, and the preface to the Ilberg-Kühlewein edition, vol. i, 1894). The place of the Homeric scholia is taken by Galen (Ilberg, *Rh. Mus.* xlv *Über die Schriftstellerei des Claudius Galenus*, xlv *Die Hippokratesausgaben des Kapiton und Dioskurides*), who, writing in the second century after Christ, gives us an inexhaustible mass of information about MSS., readings, conjectures, and editions. The results of a comparison of the textual history of Hippocrates and Homer are remarkable. I follow Ilberg, as an impartial witness. The coincidences are closer than I should have supposed.

To familiarize myself with the facts I have read the pieces contained in vol. i of Kühlewein's edition on which Galen has left a commentary, viz. *περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων νοσημάτων* ii and *περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν* i and iii. I find that here Galen mentions 29 variants, by name and anonymously. Of these 18 occur in no extant MS., 4 occur in all, 7 in one or two (viz. in 'V' 'D' 'M' 'R 1' and 'A'). If we distinguish variants bearing commentators' names we find that Dioscurides proposes 4; 2 are in no MS., 2 in one or two. Capito, Zeno, Heraclides are mentioned for one each; none of the three is found in a MS. This small experiment shows that nearly $\frac{2}{3}$ of the ancient variants have left no trace in the text; between $\frac{1}{7}$ and $\frac{1}{3}$ have made their way in, to the exclusion of their contraries; $\frac{1}{4}$ are sporadic (and 5 out of these 7 occur in the same MS. 'V').

These results coincide singularly with the survival of ancient variants in the *Iliad*, and show—not to ask further

questions, such as the means by which the maximum of *v. U.* made their way into the text—that the Hippocratean text went on its way very little affected by the discussions and preferences of critics. In particular we notice:—

(1) Galen inserts the portion of text on which he comments into his commentary. Here he agrees with the papyrus-commentaries on Homer, § A and T, one of the MSS. of Eustathius (p. 308) and the printed edition of him, and such no doubt was the usage of all *ὑπομνηματισταί*. Hence though they did not publish an edition, the ‘readings’ or even the *ἐκδοσίς* of such and such a critic could be quoted. From this again it follows that in extant scholia the lemmata have nothing to do with the text of the MS. in which they appear, but have been copied, with the scholia, from the lemmata of the original draft of the scholia. Lemmata therefore may represent a very old text, and this is the case with those of the Rome-Madrid MS. of the scholia minora (Ve, ‘codex Mureti’).

Ilberg’s results—which cover the whole of Hippocrates—are as follows: the readings of Galen’s lemmata (praef. ed. xl–xliv) in the best tradition agree with the mediaeval MSS. of Hippocrates; so do the readings he mentions directly or by implication in his commentary (xlv–xlviii). On the other hand, readings ascribed to critics (xlix–li) either do not appear at all in the MSS. or seldom; and when they do, by indirect means, i.e. owing to the actual quotation of them in Galen (li sqq., *Rh. Mus.* xlv. 112, 136). This applies both to the rank and file of critics who did not make editions at all, but quoted Hippocrates in their commentaries, and to Dioscurides and Artemidorus Capito, who made a real edition but did not influence the Hippocratean text by it (*Rh. Mus.* l.c. 134 sqq.).¹

This analogy is striking. The publishers of Hippocrates

¹ Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.*, p. 627, thought they did influence it, as it has been supposed that our Homeric MSS. hail from Alexandria. Littré, on the other hand, thought that Capito and Dioscurides had no effect at all on the Hippocratean text. Ilberg establishes the facts.

as well as of Homer were unmoved by the active competition and intensive emendation of the experts, doctors and philologues. The publisher continued to multiply copies as though critics had never existed. Galen, except for their undesigned and side-long influence, might have left his commentaries unwritten. The views of Zeno and Baccheus, the editions of Capito and Dioscurides, were, so far as publishers were concerned, in the air.

Compared with Homer, we find these points of resemblance in the Hippocratean tradition: (a) the views of critics, whether expressed in actual editions or in commentaries, had no direct effect on the published text; (b) the slight effect that they had, i. e. the few of their readings which are found in extant MSS., entered them indirectly, and owing to the effect of commentaries, such as Galen's, in which they were mentioned; (c) the actual text of Hippocrates in Galen's day was essentially the same as that of the mediaeval MSS.

To Homer (c) evidently applies; the text of the first century B. C., known to us from papyri, is the same as that of the tenth-century minuscules. (a) and (b) are my contention,¹ and the Hippocratean tradition I venture to think supports them.

(2) Another point of resemblance is this: Dioscurides applied obeli to chapter 9 of the *περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* (Ilberg, l. c., p. 123) which he considered unauthentic (Galen xv. 110 ταύτης ὅλης τῆς ῥήσεως ἐκάστου στίχου Διοσκουρίδης προέγραψε σημείον ὃ καλοῦσιν ὀβελόν, ὅτφ σημείφ καὶ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐχρήσατο παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπτενομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στίχους). Dioscurides applied the same method as the Alexandrians. He did not take out passages of which he disapproved, but marked their nature by signs. These signs in the case of Hippocrates have disappeared

¹ Put forward *C. R.* 1900, 385; 1901, 256, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1910, v, p. 81 sqq. (where I draw from Galen). The process of the escape of variant lections from marginal scholia into a text may be studied in the facsimile of Ven. 454.

from our MSS. In Plato too (D. L. iii. 66) signs were employed; the critical were διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη πρὸς τὰς ἐνίων διορθώσεις· ὀβελὸς περιεστιγμένος πρὸς τὰς εἰκαίους ἀθετήσεις· . . . ὀβελὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀθέτησιν. Good or bad, an athetesis did not remove the passage or word. Actual removal was ill thought of; cf. the story (D. L. vii. 34) about Zeno's book on love: according to Isidore of Pergamos ἐκτμηθῆναι ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ κακῶς λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἀθηνοδώρου τοῦ Στωικοῦ πιστευθέντος τὴν ἐν Περγάμῳ βιβλιοθήκην· εἶτα ἀντιτεθῆναι αὐτά, φωραθέντος τοῦ Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ κινδυνεύσαντος. In Homer these signs lasted practically perfect through the late classical period down to the tenth century A. D., in one Byzantine copy (Ven. A). In contemporary copies (I mean D) and later they are found sporadically.¹ Here also we see the want of connexion between critics and publishers. Dioscurides and the Platonic critics had no means of expression except the obelus, and this itself perished and never affected a text.

Another parallel to the Homeric text is in some respects presented by the Greek Old Testament. Here again we have a great deal of information about the early condition of the text, far earlier than the ordinary MSS. in which the O. T. is contained. Whereas in most ancient authors the old state of the text is an inference from the mediaeval MSS. aided by perhaps a few fragments of papyrus and a certain number of arbitrary quotations, in the case of the Greek O. T. our information about the centuries in which its history as a text commences, from sources other than diplomatic, is much greater than at any later period. In the Greek O. T. as in Homer the importance of extant MSS.

¹ Mediaeval MSS. of the *Iliad* in which signs are found are D (Σ 444-56 obeli), T (ib. obeli), Ge (ib. to 461 obeli, and P 70, 411, T 136-40, 295-301, 387-91, T 125-8, 178-85, 195-8, 251-4, 267-72, Φ 34, 41, X 200, Ω 20, 21, cf. Nicole, *pref.* xliii sqq.), Bm 4 (N 636-8, T 125-8,), equivalent to obeli), Bm 8 (B 528 30, Ω 20, 21, bracket = obeli), Le 1 (O 212-17, bracket = obeli), P 3 (B 141 dotted obelus, B 527-9, 580-2, 590, 591, O 64-77, 211-17 diplac, E 891 asterisk), U 8 (X 487-99 obeli). Hence lists of signs with their meanings were supplied (Ven. A, Bm 8, Ve). For signs in MSS. of the *Odyssey* see *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1910, v. 31 sqq.

consists in the tracing of the progress, during centuries, of the factors of whose existence we are informed by explicit literary statements. In the O.T. however we have the unique circumstance that the Greek texts are translations, and the Hebrew original is extant. The MS. tradition of the Greek O.T. therefore possesses an interest even more exclusively historical than that of Homer.

An analogy may be found between the Alexandrian critical methods and the practice of Origen in compiling his edition of the Old Testament known as the *Hexapla*.¹ This it is well known consisted of six parallel texts—a Hebrew text, the same in Greek letters; the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth columns contained Greek translations, among which the Septuagint occupied the fifth σελίς. Eusebius, *hist. eccl.* vi. 16 τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγετο τῷ Ὀριγένηι τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις ὥς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν, τὰς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις γραφὰς κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι, ἀνιχνεύσαι τε τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκῶτων ἐκδόσεις, καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρας παρὰ τὰς καθημαγευμένας ἐρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπόθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον εἰς φῶς ἀνιχνεύσας προήγαγεν [the next sentences are quoted p. 294]. ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγών, διελὼν τε πρὸς κῶλον καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἡμῖν ἑξαπλῶν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν, ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἑκδοσὶν ἅμα τῇ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας. This may be the way in which Aristarchus collected the evidence extant in his day, the editions κατὰ πόλεις, κατ' ἄνδρα, κοιναί, and registered

¹ See principally Stählin in Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* ii (1), 411 sqq., Swete, *Introduction to O. T. Criticism*², 59 sqq., the editions of the *Hexapla* by Montfaucon (1735) and Field (1875), and articles in the Bible Dictionaries: Taylor, *Hexapla* in Smith-Wace, 1882, Ermoni in Vignouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, 1899, art. *Hexaples*, Burkitt in Cheyne-Black, 1903, *Text and Versions*, and especially Nestle, *Septuagint* in Hastings iv. 442 sqq. (1902).

their readings in his commentaries. Origen reproduced each edition *in extenso*; the richness of the material forbade this to Aristarchus. I have noticed (p. 294) how in his search for MSS. and his denomination of them according to the place where they were found Origen resembled the Ptolemaic librarians.

Real criticism was given by Origen to one of his six columns, that containing the LXX. Epiphanius [ob. A. D. 402] says *de ponderibus et mensuris* τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ὁ Ὀριγένης καλῶς ποιῶν ἐποίησεν οὕτως καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὀβελοῦ τὴν σημειῶσιν ἐποίησατο . . . τὰς γὰρ ἐξ ἐρμηνείας καὶ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν γραφὴν Ἑβραικοῖς στοιχείοις καὶ ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ἐν σελίδι μιᾷ συντεθεικὼς ἄλλην σελίδα ἀντιπαράθετόν οἱ Ἑλληνικῶν μὲν γραμμάτων Ἑβραϊκῶν δὲ λέξεων πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν μὴ εἰδόντων Ἑβραϊκὰ στοιχεῖα εἰς τὸ διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν εἰδέναι τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν λογίων τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ οὕτως τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξαπλοῖς ἢ ὀκταπλοῖς τὰς μὲν δύο Ἑβραϊκὰς σελίδας καὶ τὰς ἐξ τῶν ἐρμηνευτῶν ἐκ παραλλήλου ἀντιπαραθεῖς μεγάλην ὠφέλειαν γνώσεως ἔδωκε τοῖς φιλοκάλοις. Here Epiphanius supplies a virtual paraphrase of Eusebius; but testifies to the condition of the *Hexapla* in the fourth century. Previously he explained the character of the obelus, the lemniscus and the hypolemniscus, and the asterisk which Origen applied to the fifth column, the LXX; c. 2 fin. τούτῳ τῷ νοήματι ὁ τοὺς ἀστερίσκους παραθεῖς ἐποίησεν ἵνα σοι δόξῃ ὅτι οἱ λόγοι οἷς παράκεινται οἱ ἀστερίσκοι πεπήγασιν μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἑβραϊκαῖς λέξεσιν ὥσπερ οἱ ἀστέρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐκαλύφθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐβδομηκονταδύο . . . c. 3 τὸ δὲ ὀβελοῦ τὸ διήγημα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον . . . παρετέθη δὲ ταῖς τῆς θείας γραφῆς λέξεσιν, ταῖς παρὰ τοῖς ἐβδομηκονταδύο ἐρμηνευταῖς κειμέναις, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς περὶ Ἀκύλαν καὶ Σύμμαχον μὴ ἐμφερομέναις. This means that Origen marked off passages in the LXX to which there was nothing to correspond in the other versions with obeli; he further added passages which he judged to be wanting in the LXX from one of the other columns (namely from Theodotion, see below), and these he marked

with asterisks. In the former case he recognized, as Aristarchus did, the essential principle of not interfering with the common text, and of expressing a judgement on it merely by means of signs.

Beside these two signs he used a combination of the asterisk and the obelus which is not noticed in Epiphanius and only appears in the Ambrosianus A 147 inf. (Field, p. liv). It marks passages conveyed from other places in the Scriptures, and therefore agrees sufficiently with Aristarchus' use of the asterisk plain and dotted. See other authorities in Swete, p. 71.

Another point of resemblance is that the text of the LXX on which these critical operations were practised was known as the κοινή. Jerome, *ep. (cvi) ad Sunniam et Fretellam*, c. 2 *illud breviter admoneo ut sciatis aliam esse editionem quam Origenes et Caesariensis Eusebius omnesque Graeciae tractatores κοινήν, id est communem, appellant atque vulgatam, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανός dicitur, aliam septuaginta interpretum quae in ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versus est et Ierosolymae atque in orientis ecclesiis decantatur . . . κοινή autem ista, hoc est communis, editio ipsa est quae et septuaginta, sed hoc interest inter utramque quod κοινή pro locis et temporibus et pro voluntate scriptorum vetus corrupta editio est, ea autem quae habetur in ἑξαπλοῖς et quam nos vertimus ipsa est quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata septuaginta interpretum translatio reservatur.* Basil, in *Esaiam*, c. 2, p. 447 D, ed. Garnier ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς κοινῆς ἐκδόσεως οὐ κεῖται τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ κείμενον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν μετεκομίσθη.

This was as we have seen (p. 271 sqq.) the name which the Alexandrians gave to the text which was not that of the particular editions in and before their time, and on which they exercised their talents.

Origen took a freer hand with the LXX than Aristarchus did with his κοινή, in so far as he added passages which he considered had been omitted in translating the Hebrew original.

This original was a factor wanting in Aristarchus' scheme, and to obtain a correct equivalent of it in Greek was Origen's aim as he says himself *Ep. ad Africanum*, c. 5 (ed. Lommatzsch, vol. xvii. 27) ἀσκοῦμεν δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν καὶ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνοις ἵνα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαλεγόμενοι μὴ προφέρωμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὴ κείμενα ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις αὐτῶν καὶ ἵνα συγχρησώμεθα τοῖς φερομένοις παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐ κεῖνται βιβλίοις. Hence he did not object to amplify the common Greek text and to correct one Greek version from another: he says *in ev. Matth.* vol. iii. 1293 Migne (vol. iii. 851 Lomm.) νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, θεοῦ διδόντος, εὗρομεν ἰάσασθαι κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν τῶν γὰρ ἀμφιβαλλομένων παρὰ τοῖς ὅτι διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφωνίαν, τὴν κρίσιν ποιησάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων τὸ συνῶδον ἐκείναις ἐφυλάξαμεν, καὶ τινα μὲν ὠβελίσσαμεν ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ μὴ κείμενα, οὐ τολμήσαντες αὐτὰ πάντη περιελεῖν· τινὰ δὲ μετ' ἀστερίσκων προσεθήκαμεν, ἵνα δῆλον ᾖ ὅτι μὴ κείμενα παρὰ τοῖς ὅτι ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκδόσεων συμφώνως τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ προσεθήκαμεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος πρόηται αὐτά, ᾧ δὲ προσκόπτει τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ βούλεται περὶ τῆς παραδοχῆς αὐτῶν ἢ μή, ποίησιν.

The edition he used to supplement the LXX is told us by Jerome, ep. (cvi) *ad Sunnium et Fretellam*, c. 7 *de octavo Psalmo* 'quoniam videbo caelos tuos'. *Et dicitis quod 'tuos' in Graeco non habeat. verum est, sed in Hebraeo legitur 'samacha' quod interpretatur 'caelos tuos', et de editione Theodotionis in septuaginta interpretibus additum est sub asterisco: cuius rei vobis sensum breviter aperiam. ubi quid minus habetur in Graeco ab Hebraea veritate, Origenes de translatione Theodotionis addidit et signum posuit asterisci*: he continues to the same effect as Epiphanius.

Further, as many papyri and a few mediaeval MSS. (these except Ven. A to a very slight extent) present us texts furnished with Aristarchean signs,¹ so the fifth column of Origen's collection is in several cases found separately, its obeli and asterisks appended. These are by themselves unintelligible, as Aristarchus' signs were without his commentaries. Both sets of signs gradually perished. Specimens of Origen's signs may be most conveniently seen in the facsimile of the codex Sarravianus (Leiden Voss gr. Q. 8, Paris grec 17) by Henri Omont, Leiden, 1897, and in that of the cod. Marchalianus (Vat. 2125) by Cozza-Luzi (1890). For other MSS. with signs see Swete, c. v.

The effects of the two undertakings were widely different. Aristarchus' influence was *nil* directly, and only partial indirectly. We are told that the Palestinian peoples adopted the enlarged LXX of Origen. Jerome, *præf. in Paralip: mediae inter has* [Alexandriam atque Constantinopolim] *provinciae Palaestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt.* Origen's own MS. was preserved at Caesarea according to Jerome, *in Titum* iii. 9 *unde et nobis curae fuit omnes veteris legis libros quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat de Caesariensi bibliotheca descriptos ex ipsis authenticis emendare, in quibus et ipsa Hebraea propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta, et Graecis litteris tramite expressa vicino.* *Aquila etiam et Symmachus, Septuaginta quoque et Theodotio suum ordinem tenent.* Cf. *præf. in Psalmos.* Id. *de viris illustribus*, c. iii *porro ipsum Hebraicum [ev. Matthaei] habetur usque hodie in Caesariensi bibliotheca, quam Pamphilus martyr studiosissime confecit: mihi quoque a Nazaraeis qui in Beroea urbe Syria hoc volumine utuntur describendi facultas fuit.* Origen's version of the LXX was one of three: the others in use were those of Hesychius (in Egypt) and Lucian (from Constantinople to Antioch) according to Jerome.

Documentary evidence of the copying of MSS. of this

¹ See p. 314 n.

family, in the subscription of extant MSS., is given by Swete, pp. 75, 77.

We conclude from the account of Origen and the *Hexapla* that there was in the O.T., as in Homer, an edition known as the *κοινή*. In the case of the O.T. it applied to more than one edition in different parts of the world. It meant, however, where it was used, the general or usual text. The presumption follows that it meant the usual text of Homer also.

Further, we see that in both cases the contents of the *κοινή* were sacred. Critics expressed their opinion of the genuineness of parts of it by signs appicted on its margin (as they did to Hippocrates also, p. 313), without removing a jot or tittle from it (as they did not from Hippocrates either). In the O.T. additions were made to the *κοινή* from one particular version; no one thought of doing this to the Homeric *κοινή*, but Homer had no sanctified Hebrew original establishing an undisputed canon of bulk. In Homer the tendency was to restrict the text.

These two analogies show that the disappearance of long texts of Homer in the first century B. C. was not due to the Alexandrians, or else the practice is without parallel. At all periods of the Greek world the connexion between organized learning and book production seems slight, if not non-existent. Actors interpolated lines into Euripides' plays; the commentators detected them, but they are in the plays still. The commentators held that vv. 1-10 of the *Works and Days* were later than Hesiod; they are in all the MSS. The numerous lines which the Alexandrines detected in Homer and ascribed to *τινές* are still in our texts,¹ in spite of the Alexandrian condemnation in their

¹ Some are not (p. 305). Aristarchus disapproved of B 558, it is omitted in a minority of MSS.; but it is doubtful if Aristarchus' influence affected it (*Catalogue*, p. 56). Aristarchus took out (ἐξέλε, but Plutarch, *Mor.* 26 f speaks with the looseness of a literary man; Aristarchus 'disapproved', *παρητήσατο*, them as the others) I 458-61, and no copy has been found containing them. They were in Plutarch's copy, for he quotes them in three

hypomnemata and the reference to these condemnations by the marginal signs which abundant copies bore. How these additions found their way into their respective authors is indeed a mystery, but once there no power took them out.

This being the case generally, it is the more difficult to suppose that an author of universal study, from Marseilles to Trebizond, and of all but daily production, should have been affected by the commentaries of professors at Alexandria. What, then, did kill the long texts?

If Alexandria did not kill them, *a fortiori* the schools of Pergamos and Rome did not. We can look nowhere but to the publishing trade. Our knowledge of the circumstances of ancient publishing is lamentably small. Until the Roman period we can only say that books were written, corrected, and sold (as, for instance, in the story in Polyb. xvi. 20 how Polybius wrote to Zeno about the mistakes in one of his books, which Zeno admitted, γνοὺς ἀδύνατον οὔσαν τὴν μετᾴθεσιν διὰ τὸ προεκδεδωκέναι τὰς συντάξεις). It is Cicero who, for the first time, in his Letters instructs us about the relations of an author and his publisher (the passages are collected by Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 348 sqq.). We have allusions to the subject also in Ovid, Horace, Martial, and a few more passages which Birt, l. c. and Dziatzko (*Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, 1900, and in his article 'Buch' in Pauly, vol. ii) have brought together. But all this information relates to the publication of new books, authors' profits, copyright, &c. What we wish to know is who reproduced old books, and what steps were taken to ensure accuracy in the text of old authors? Probably the publishers of new books published old books also, and there is one apparent coincidence between Cicero's publisher, T. Pom-

different places. We do not understand the story. It must mean that like B 558 these lines were in some editions (as that which Plutarch used) and not in others. Aristarchus disapproved of them in a commentary, and their absence from most copies was explained as the result of his 'removal'.

ponius Atticus, and the books called Ἀττικιανὰ which Harpocration quotes for Aeschines and Demosthenes, and subscriptions referring to which survived, almost incredibly, into eleventh-century MSS. (see Dziatzko in Ἀττικιανὰ in Pauly, vol. i, 1896); the identification is not certain, but it is highly probable. A financier like Atticus would never have limited himself to the issuing of new books, his large and accomplished staff (Nepos, who wrote a life of Atticus, says, c. 13 *in ea* [sc. familia] *erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi, et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere posset*) required a more constant and remunerative occupation. In Lucian's day Atticus was famous (ἀοίδιμος) among book-collectors, surely not only among collectors of Cicero (*adv. indoct.* 2 and 24). If we may assume that the Ἀττικιανὰ came from his atelier we have a glimpse of his staff; his employés were Greek, whether slaves or ἀπελεύθεροι. Cicero names Dionysius, Menophilus (*ad Att.* iv. 8. 2), Pharnacus, Antaeus, Salvius (*ib.* xiii. 44). There is no professor or scholar among them. None of the Augustan Greek grammarians are said to have supervised the Ἀττικιανὰ. Is there any ground to assume they ever had any connexion with publishing?

Another story of the same period is instructive, the celebrated account of the Peripatetic corpus (Strabo 609, Plutarch, *Sulla* 26). The heirs of Neleus sold the library to Apellicon of Teos, a collector rather than a philosopher (φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος, like Atticus), who, as the pages were worm-eaten, had them copied εἰς ἀντίγραφα καινὰ, and the lacunae filled up (ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὔ), and so reproduced the books full of faults. Apellicon was no grammarian and he did not employ one: like Ptolemy with the dramatists, he gave new lamps for old; his clerks issued the corpus neat and clean, with running repairs. The resultant copy went into his library, which was later removed by Sulla to Rome. Here Tyrannio, a grammarian and φιλαριστοτέλης, made interest with the keeper of the

library and 'arranged' (διεχειρίσατο; Plutarch's word is ἐνσκευάσασθαι) the books. What this implies is not clear: both words are general. He saw that the σελίδες were in order and under their proper books. It may be conceded that he here and there corrected the wording. However, the corpus thus arranged was issued by colleagues of Atticus but less scrupulous, βιβλιοπῳλαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.¹ Tyrannio having once furnished 'copy' did not intervene farther in the edition: the scribes, whose whole duty was to compare their transcript with the original, did not do so, as often happened. The services of Tyrannio were only needed at all owing to the condition of the corpus; and he did not preside over the edition and see that his corrections (if he made any) were carried out. Strabo's story stops here. Plutarch (and Porphyry, *vit. Plotini* 24) state that on the basis of this publication (εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων) Andronicus of Rhodes classified the treatises and made indices (πίνακες) of them.

For his reproductions of the Orators it does not appear that Atticus employed a professor; and in the case of Homer, who was in constant course of reproduction and had had no adventures in a cellar, still less was a grammarian necessary. The 'editing' was in the hands of *liberti*, Greeks and educated men, but not experts or Homeric scholars. They may have been to some extent open to the critical notions current in their day, but their main business was to ensure a true transcription of the original. Their functions were at best those of the proof-

¹ Another firm, unknown and undated, were the Atilii: s V Arist. *Birds* 1508 ἐν τοῖς ἀττιλίῳν (so the MS.) εὖρον σκιᾶδιον καὶ ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ τῷ ἐμφ. According to this the productions of the Atilii, like the Ἀττικιανὰ, survived into the eleventh century (for ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ, &c. are common expressions in early Byzantine scholia). As in the mentions of Ἀττικιανὰ the word is often corrupted into ἀττικῶν and the like (see Dziatzko), we may expand ἀττιλίῳν into ἀττιλιανοῖς or anything else we think proper.

reader of our learned presses. Hence we are not informed that Aristarchus or Didymus had a connexion with the publishing houses of their periods; and as to Tyrannio, we know from the scholia what his views on Homer's prosody were, and we see how completely the MSS. are free from them. We may infer that the method of production of books had been the same in the earlier period, and that the effect of learning on it had been at best indirect and sporadic.

Long texts of Homer were abundant in the fourth century at Athens, and in the third and second in Egypt. They died in the first. What conditions influenced the book trade of the first century which were not there in the third and second?

There were two, so far as I can see. First, the Hellenization of Rome, the establishment of a new focus of education and literature in the West. With the centralization of wealth that of culture followed; at the least a fourth centre beside Athens, Alexandria, and Pergamos came into existence. Grammarians in flocks professed at Rome.¹ The elder Tyrannio kept his collection of books there, the younger composed in Rome his *περὶ προσφθίας Ὀμηρικῆς*, constantly cited in our scholia, and his *διόρθωσις Ὀμηρικῆ* (Suidas in vv.). The Roman libraries are celebrated. Diodorus went there to write his history (i. 4). Apellicon's MSS., as I have noticed, were produced at Rome, at Rome Cicero's publisher Atticus seems to have published Greek classics. Alexandria naturally continued to produce books, as the papyri show and the story in Suetonius, *Domitian* 20 (Birt, p. 364); but it had never a monopoly, for which nothing but the indigenous papyrus fitted it. Athens and Asia had always been independent, now Rome was added. On this evidence, as the common Homeric text won the day in the first century, we may look for its champions more in Atticus' Greek *librarii* and those of other publishers than in Aristarchus or Ammonius.

¹ Alexander Polyhistor, Andronicus, Anteros, Apion, Dionysius Thrax, Heracleon, Philoxenus, Seleucus.

We still ask why the ἀπελεύθεροι chose to reproduce the common text and not such versions as **p**7 or **p**51. There is one circumstance which may have weighed in favour of the medium text, namely, the decay of the rhapsodic art. It seems a certain assumption that the augmentation of the original Homeric text began at the hands of the minor epic poets and the rhapsodes of the sub-epic age. It is to be presumed that these additions continued to be due principally to reciters, though after the book trade had got under way the copyists may have made contributions of their own. The additions we can trace are such as would have been made by vocalists relying largely on memory, facing an audience for the most part untrammelled by the possession of a written text. They consist in the broadening of the effect at the expense of the reticence, or in a word the art of the Master: in easing the construction, attenuating the emphasis, enforcing the point, and even augmenting the information.¹ Consequently, if the practice of recitation dwindled and at the same time transcription increased, it might happen that these supplements arbitrary and sporadic, faded. It is notorious that the Alexandrians were largely occupied in detecting them even in the common text. These supplements had different fates. Some, as the Paphlagonian towns *B* 853–5 and the lines from the Cycle *δ* 285–9, maintained their place in all texts; others are only found in single papyri (**p**7, **p**51) or as quotations in scholia. Those that lasted in the text had gone into it before Aristarchus' time. Aristarchus detects them but is helpless to turn them out. The others, for reasons that escape us, were sporadic, but did not for that avoid the Alexandrians' athetesis (this we learn from **p**51, see p. 306). When they began to work they found a great mass of texts in existence. Some were comparatively of the same length, though not themselves original or authentic. They marked the later portions in them by

¹ I have collected examples, *C. R.* 1902, 2 sqq., *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1910, 70 sqq.

signs. They did the same by the minority, the longer texts. In neither case had their labours any effect ; they instructed the taste of the learned public, and the number of papyri which bear their signs shows that there was a learned public. But the vulgate did not change, and the long texts withered of themselves. They had depended on the rhapsode. The rhapsodic profession began to be disesteemed fairly early. Plato's condescending attitude is well known. Still, it continued during the third and second centuries, as the abundant records of Boeotian village sports and of meetings in other central Greek towns show. They are traceable down to Tanagra (*C. I. G.* Sept. 540, 100-70 B. C.) and to Sulla's games at Athens in 86 B. C.¹ Here we have a coincidence, which may bear directly on the book trade. The rhapsode relied only partially on his memory. Mnemosyne was for the public. He had his book, probably he made one. Therefore, with the rhapsodes' fall and extinction, the demand for and supply of copies in which the Master was increased and improved—the Mozartian supplements to Handel's score—ceased.

The fuller copies were only occasionally quoted (as by Plutarch) at the same moment as a greatly increased output was required to meet the needs of Italy and the West (for Gaul see Strabo 181). So, as the longer copies ceased to be produced at the moment when the production became greater, we may conceive that a process of standardization began inside the scriptoria in Rome, Asia, and other places. The *ἀντιβολή* or collation in which (and this was all) the preparation of well-written books consisted, tended in the hands of liberti without definite critical presumptions or rules to discard the longer texts, which may not have agreed with each other in their supplements (or omissions, if so were the case), and to strike the difference between long and short texts.

If, upon analogy, we decide that Homeric critics had no

¹ Compare a not too satisfactory article by Aly, *Pauly zweite Reihe I Halbband*.

effect upon the published text, and if we invoke the practice of the publishers (whose only law was the correct copying of their original, a rule at all periods of *scriptoria*¹), we have to assume that the original which the *librarii* from time to time copied was a medium text. If they ordinarily copied a medium text, we can understand that the longer texts, under the influences I have mentioned, were gradually shaken out: if there had been, so to speak, free trade in long, medium, and short copies at all periods, it is hard to see how this process could have commenced. Accordingly the need of accounting for the eventual predominance of the medium text, when the critics are shown to have been incapable of producing it, leads us to assume a medium text or vulgate in existence during the whole time of the hand-transmission of Homer. This consideration throws its weight into the balance of the fourth-century quotations against that of the third-century papyri, compels us to regard their evidence as accidental, and revives the view of Arthur Ludwich, that the Homeric vulgate was in existence before the Alexandrian period. Aristarchus' inefficacy compels us to assume a central, average, or vulgate text, which, as we saw, is also implied by the fact that the Alexandrians in their commentaries imply a text of the same dimensions as ours. It is a postulate necessary to explain the disappearance of the long texts of the fourth and third centuries. It is also involved in the assumption of a single Homer. The work when it had left the Master's hand was expanded: one scale of expansion won, why we do not know, acceptance, perhaps as the first; others were always sporadic. The former continued as the recognized state of the poem, and in spite of the Alexandrians' disapproval came down as the author.

¹ Strabo, l. c. Compare the scribe's oath in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* v. 20. 2, and the rule of the Studium under Theodore (*J. H. S.* 1920, 5).

APPENDIX

I HERE put down some additional evidence which I have collected on the Catalogue of Ships, as a supplement to my book on that subject, Oxford, 1921. At the same time I correct such errors as have found their way into the text.

Apparatus criticus v. 520 *dele* V 1 V 5.

711 *read* cf. 734, and then 713 τωνδ, &c.

852 sqq. should run: 852 ἐνετῆς Zen. ap. Apollodorum ap. Strab. 553, s A: cf. Strab. 543. 853-5 non legerunt Eratosthenes et Apollodorus ap. Strab. 298, 553. 853 κύδαρον qu. Eu. 854 ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο Strabo 590 Eu. 855 κρῶμναί L 13: κρῶμνα O 6: κρῶμαν Zonar. 147. 28 Bm 4 O 9 P 1: κρωμάν W 3 κωβίαλον pro τ' αἰγίαλον qu. ap. Strab. 545, Steph. in Αἰγιαλός, Eu.: κρωβίαλον s Ap. Rhod. ii. 942 κρωβίαλον κρώμναν τε καὶ ὕληεντα κύτωρον Apollonius ipse l. c.

p. 21, l. 25. The date of the Cycle should be given as 750-550, see p. 64 of this book.

p. 25. On Menestheus there is a good deal of miscellaneous information, which, as the hero has not yet got into Pauly, I collect here (see also in this book pp. 240, 41, 2). Either his Homeric qualities are expanded (Xenophon, *Cyneg.* i. 12, celebrates him as a sportsman, Philostratus, *Her.* 299, and Dictys ii. 36 make him command the entire host, the former 315 makes him pronounce the ἐπιτάφιος of Ajax), or his disappearance in favour of the Thesidae is managed (the Thesidae send him to Spain s Thuc. i. 5, his father, Peteos, is banished to Stiris by Aegeus, Paus. x. 35. 8). As to his origin Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 186, agrees with Pausanias in making him an Erechtheid, but in Diodorus i. 28. 6 his father Peteos (under the name of Petes) is an Egyptian. He reigned twenty-three years (Eus. l. c.). These passages, with others (*Catalogue*, pp. 25, 55), show how Athenian antiquarianism treated an awkward hero.

p. 28. Beside Dictys Statius' *facunditas* sent the Aetolian and the Acarnanian to Troy (*Achill.* i. 418, and Acarnanians figure in the *Thebais*). Compare 'Epiros' *Achill.* i. 420. Scyrus contributed two ships, 923.

p. 29. A kind of abridged Catalogue may be found in Libanius, *decl.* iv. 50, v. 86. Malalas' Σώρθης appears in a Bulgarian version quoted by Noack (*Philol. Supplementbd.* 1892, 463) as *Sethes*, which in turn suggests the familiar *Seuthes*.

p. 30. Is *Cormo* in *Dares* 18 a relic of *Hormo* (ὄρμου)?

p. 32. To ancient commentators on the Catalogue we may add Menogenes in 23 books quoted from Porphyry by Eust. 263. 37. Porphyry himself in the same passage declares τὸν ὁμηρικὸν κατάλογον πᾶσαν περιέχειν ἀλήθειαν ἔν τε χωρογραφία καὶ πόλεων ιδιώμασιν.

p. 33 n. Another example of the ancient habit of referring to a passage by its beginning may be found in the titles of Pausanias' books.

pp. 34, 35. The invocation to the Muses is paraphrased by Ibycus, *Ox. Pap.* 1790, fr. 2. 23 sqq.

Nestor's advice, *B* 362 κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα κατὰ φρήτρας Ἀγάμεμνον, I said embodies the local or territorial principle which seems to have been usual in the old world if one may generalize from the passages in Herodotus below and from Tacitus, *Germania* 7. 3 'non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed *familiae et propinquitates*'. The peculiarity of the Homeric account is that the system is attributed to Nestor's genius, as invented for the first time. This, no doubt, is an instance of the Greek way of ascribing institutions and inventions to individuals. Nestor is a Palamedes. But it is hard to imagine what the formation of the Greeks had been before this moment. The same idea appears in Herodotus' account of the Persian host; vii. 60 the Persian leaders at Doriscus κατὰ ἔθνηα ἔτασσον, they being up to that moment ἀναμίξ (41). The commentators consider this incredible. Did Herodotus follow Homer? The formation once established was followed; at Thermopylae (vii. 212) the Greeks fight κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ ἔθνηα, at Plataea (ix. 33) both sides κατὰ ἔθνηα καὶ κατὰ τέληα.

Homer, I maintain, introduced the matter at all only to

pave the way for the Catalogue. I was not correct in saying the reform is not heard of afterwards, see Δ 428. The exchange of armour is a similar reform, Ξ 376. In literature the phrase became a commonplace: see Pammenes in Plutarch, *Pelop.* 18, *quaest. conv.* 618 A, Lucian, *Philopseudes* 51, Psellus *χρονογραφ.*, ed. Sathas, p. 191. 26, of Michael VI (*φυλοκρινεῖ τὰς τάξεις*).

p. 36, n. 1. Later in the world's history the Acarnanians denied they had assisted the Trojans (Justin xxvii. 5. 6). See *ante*, p. 329.

p. 38. To Seneca's maxim, a commonplace in French law, add Lucian, *quomodo historia* 54 οὐ γὰρ εὐρίσκουσιν οὕτινος ἔνεκα ἐψεύδεται ἄν (of Achilles).

Boeotia.

p. 41. Leitus, son of Alectryon (*P* 602), brought back Arcesilaus' bones (Paus. ix. 39. 3). He alone of the Boeotian chiefs returned.

line 15. For *Prothoenor* read *Peneleos*; in the next line read 'Pausanias vii. 2. 3 and 10, ix. 5. 15'. His father was Hippalemus, Plut. *qu. graec.* 38 = 299 D, his son Opheltas, Paus. l. c. 16; his ἀπόγονος Philotas was part-founder of Priene, Paus. vii. 2. 10. According to Plutarch, *Cimon* 1, Opheltas was king of the Boeotians, whom the prophet Peripoltas 'led back' from Thessaly. Either this is Peneleos' father by another account, or the 'return' took place after Troy.

line 20. Those thought Potniae was *Ἰποθῆβαι* who held that the Thebans did not go to Troy, e.g. Artemidorus, *onir.* iv. 63, Tzetzes in Lyc. 1194, Eust. on *B* 505.

note 3. For 'Paus. ix. 5. 2' read '15'.

p. 42. The war of the Seven against Thebes was before Agamemnon's time if he never saw Tydeus (Δ 376); on the other hand Copreus, father of Periphetes of Mycenae, went back to Eurystheus (*O* 638). That the Boeoti were the non-Theban inhabitants of Boeotia is suggested by Hesiod, *Aspis* 13, 24. Euphorion, fr. 113 (ap. Steph. in *Βοιωτία*), makes Boeotus son of Posidon and Arne, i.e. national, and the genealogy in Paus. ix. 1. 1 seems to make Boeotians indigenous. Boeotians in Thessaly are contemplated by Polyaeus i. 12

(Thessalus and the Thessalians defeat Boeotians τῶν Ἀρνην οἰκούντων) and Paus. x. 8. 4 (Θεσσαλίαν γὰρ καὶ [οἱ Βοιωτοὶ] ᾤκησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τήνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο).

p. 43. 13. After 'Diodorus' supply the reference iv. 66, 67.

p. 44, n. 1. To the writers reporting the story add s Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 298. 31 St., Proclus, *Chrest.* 321 b 34. Among the names resembling Βοιωτοί may be mentioned Βοατες, a tribe at Larissa, *I. G.* ix, part ii. 513.

Aulis.

p. 46 sqq. The truth of the Homeric and later account, according to which Aulis was the port of departure for Agamemnon's fleet and the Aeolic migration, may be said to be made out. It is difficult to see how the passages¹ adduced by Mr. Shewan and myself testifying to anchorage in these waters and traffic through the Euripus can be disputed. It seems as though in the ancient and the mediaeval world natural difficulties were put up with, either as less than alternative difficulties or because there were no means of surmounting them, until new circumstances made them quite impossible. Thus Nantes and Bristol—which I quoted in my book—were famous mediaeval ports, each on a very difficult river, and continued so until the size of modern ships made it impossible for them to navigate the Loire and the Avon. When this happened St. Nazaire and Avonmouth were built.

I can now give an instance of an active English port which laboured under difficulties analogous to those of Chalcis and Aulis. This is Poole haven, co. Dorset. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* . . . by John Hutchins, ed. 2,

¹ To them may be added Plutarch on Hes. *O. D.* (vii. 82 Bern.) τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀμφιδάμαντα ναυμαχοῦντα πρὸς Ἑρετρίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ Δηλάντου ἀποθανεῖν. Thuc. iii. 91 (Nicias with a fleet destroyed the coast of Locris, from Oropus), vii. 29 the Thracians in their retreat landed at Mycalessus (ἐπορεύοντο γὰρ δι' Εὐρίπου, as Paus. i. 23. 3 says καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Χαλκιδικὸν ἔσχον Εὐρίπον), Arrian, *Anab.* ii. 2. 4 (Proteas started from Chalcis τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ with 25 ships which he had collected there), iv. 19. 6 (returning Thessalians ordered to be conveyed ἐπὶ τριήρων . . . ἐς Εὐβοίαν, perhaps to Geraestus, certainly not to Volo).

1796, vol. 2, p. 14: 'This harbour lies seven leagues NW. by W. from the isle of Wight and sixteen from Portsmouth. A SSE. moon makes high-water before this harbour; a S. by E. moon in it; which is imputed to the ebb, that comes out of the isle of Wight. The tide rises nine feet perpendicular in the harbour, which has this peculiar in it that the sea, contrary to all other parts in England, ebbs and flows four times in twenty-four hours; twice when the moon comes by the SE. and NW., and twice when it comes to the S. by E. and N. by W. The Euripus in Euboea does the same. Two of these tides are occasioned by Brownsea island, which, obstructing the water as it runs in, causes it to flow back into all parts of the harbour. This is the second flood. In the harbour the ebb and flood work alternately every six hours' (&c.). 'There is a bar a little east of the entrance of the harbour; the sands about it are shifting, and therefore all ships generally take a pilot to Studland.'

Some further details may be found in Murray's *Guide to Dorset*, 1899, p. 490: 'The direction and narrowness of the mouth give rise to the phenomenon of two tides in the time commonly allotted to one. The retreating water runs against the ebb tide of the Channel; it is driven back and kept ponded in the estuary until, by its accumulation and the abatement of the Channel current, it obtains an exit. But the rise and fall are very irregular, and even the sailors of the place can never predict with certainty the time of high water.' The importance of Poole during the whole mediaeval period and till the eighteenth century for warfare, piracy, smuggling, fisheries, and shipbuilding is shown in the *Victoria County History for Dorset* ii. 175 sq. Its Euripus did not unfit it for any of these undertakings: on the other hand it did not save the town (at the head of the harbour) from being sacked by Danes and French. As tonnage increased the safety of Poole grew (p. 210).

p. 51. Even in Homer it is said that they would never have got to Troy without Calchas, ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην *A* 71, 2. Even on the return Diomedé landed at Phalerum in mistake for Argos (Paus. i. 28. 9): Libanius could say (*or.* lxiv. 19) ὑπερενέχθῃναι Δήλου φοβερὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι. As late as the

Persian war Herodotus (viii. 132) makes very strong statements : τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω [τῆς Δήλου] πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι οὔτε τῶν χωρίων ἐοῦσι ἐμπεύροισι.

n. 1. Of Menestheus, too, Pausanias (i. 1. 2) says φασὶν [αὐτὸν] αὐτόθεν [sc. ἐκ Φαλήρου] ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς Τροίαν ἀναχθῆναι, but no one imagines Menestheus set off straight for Troy. They ran into Aulis and hoped the Gods would let them go no further. The centralness of the Boeoto-Attic peninsula (*Cat.*, p. 52) is shown by Xenophon, *de vect.* i. 6, who says of Athens τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα οἰκεῖσθαι.

p. 55. Where the text of the *Odyssey* says (γ 307) that Orestes returned ἀψ' ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, Aristarchus wished to read the name of the Goddess Ἀθηναίης, Zenodotus Φωκίων, according to the usual account. These proposals perhaps show a jealousy of Athens.

p. 57. Another view of the heroic position of Megara is implied in the story that Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, was the last king of Megara, Paus. i. 43. 3. The empire of the Pelopidae was conceived as attaining its maximum with this event and the conquest of Argos by Orestes (*Catalogue*, p. 66 n.).

p. 62. The silence about Aegina in the poems may be explained by the fact that being desolate it was the latest acquisition of Argos and required no further mention. I have found a reference to their Nostos in Plutarch, *qu. gr.* 301 π τίνες ἐν Αἰγίνῃ οἱ μονοφάγοι; τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν στρατευσάντων Αἰγινητῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπόλοντο, πλείονες δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος κτλ., from which it appears that they had their share in the usual misfortunes. What the ultimate source of the story was cannot be ascertained, but Plutarch doubtless took it from a local historian or horographer (e. g. Theogenes ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰγίνης s. Plat. *Apol.* 19 c): the Proclan epitome of Agias' *Nostoi* apparently included the Aeginetans in the mention of Diomedes, but there were other *Nόστοι* (besides Eumelus, Lysimachus, and Anticleides I find Plesimachus ἐν β' νόστων, Plut. *de flux.* xviii, Clitodemus ἐν ὀγδόῳ νόστων fr. 24).

Corinth and Agamemnon.

In my book I printed a provisional account of the American excavations at Corinth circulated by Mr. Wace. We now have the official account of them by Mr. C. W. Blegen in the *American Journal of Archaeology* xxiv (1920), p. 1 sqq., with a map and photographs.¹ Mr. Blegen deals directly with the theory (*Homer and History*, 209 sqq.) that the ascription of Corinth to Agamemnon is unhistorical, and his proof of the occupation of the district in the Mycenaean period is so overwhelming and conclusive that I content myself with paraphrasing Mr. Blegen's words.

To the N. of the Acrocorinth on the sea a place called Korákou offers a 'clear and undisturbed ceramic sequence' of 'Early, Middle, and Late Helladic pottery' (Late Helladic = Mycenaean, *B. S. A.* xxii. 175 sqq.). To the W. 'a high circular cliff with flat top, standing conspicuously at the mouth of a deep ravine', is Aetopetra, at which 'Early, Middle, and Late Helladic fabrics are all well represented', even without excavation. It will have overhung a road from Mycenae. On the E. is a site Arapiza 'just west of the carriage road from New Corinth to Argos': here 'some Mycenaean ware has been found' without excavation. On the E. also, and on the opposite side of the Corinth-Nauplia railway, is a site called Gonia, where 'a number of pits opened in 1916 yielded potsherds representing Neolithic, Early, Middle, and Late Helladic wares'; still further E. on the road to Cenchreae we have a hill called Perdikaria, where without excavation 'a few Mycenaean potsherds were picked up'. On three sides, therefore, of the Acrocorinthus the district was inhabited in the Mycenaean times. This is sufficient to prove the truth of the *Catalogue*. The rest is detail.

On the acropolis itself only 'an insignificant number of sherds' of Mycenaean pottery have at present been found. Mr. Blegen hopes that further search will 'demonstrate unbroken continuity of occupation'; but 'half a mile to the NW.

¹ A detailed account of the heroic site on the coast is given in 'Korákou, A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth, by Carl W. Blegen, Ph.D.', Boston and New York, 1921.

of the temple of Apollo' a ruined windmill 'crowns a small isolated hill at the edge of the upper plateau overlooking the plain to the N.'; this would appear to be practically in the position of an acropolis, and without excavation 'prehistoric potsherds comprising Early, Middle, and Late Helladic wares are scattered about this hill and its northern slope'. A prehistoric wall and a spring also occur. All this appears to me to justify my remark (*Catalogue*, p. 64) 'that a dynasty and race who built ports and valley and hill villages round a central acropolis inhabited the acropolis is a moral certainty'. I now add what is to me a new consideration. It has been suggested to me that 'the Pelopids did not expel the old dynasty from Corinth, but let them remain, in strict subjection'. The Sisypheids would have been in the position of Hippolytus and Lacedaemon, kings of Sicyon under Agamemnon (Paus. ii. 6. 7), and of Pityreus, king of Epidaurus under Argos (id. ii. 26. 1 and vii. 4. 2). If this were so two consequences follow: (a) the discrepancy between the *Catalogue* and the Corinthian tradition, which represented the Sisypheids as at Corinth till the capture by Aletes (*Catalogue*, p. 70; cf. e.g. Conon *διηγ.* 135 a 31 *Σισυφίδας ἐκβαλὼν Κορίνθου βασιλέας ὄντας*) becomes less harsh. Both views, that of the supremacy of the Atridae and of the persistence of the local dynasty were, so to speak, true; (b) if the Sisypheids continued at Corinth as under-kings, it is not necessary to assume extensive Mycenaean rebuilding on the Acropolis.

The Sisypheids, if they had their palace on the Acropolis, continued to live in it, and the absence of Mycenaean remains becomes of less importance. With the coming of the Dorians the Achaean overlordship was easy to ignore, as all suzerainties are shadowy and distant. Why again must the Atridae have had a vast castle or a small town on the Acrocorinthus? They had this at Mycenae, where there were the graves and presumably the treasure of the Perseidae. They fortified Mycenae and lived there; they did not need another Mycenae at Corinth.¹

Mr. Blegen (l. c.) deals with the fertility of the Corinthian district and the suitability of Korákou or Lechaëum for an

¹ See Mr. Shewan, *C. R.* 1922, 195.

heroic port. I will add a passage from Aristides xlv. 22, where the sailing advantages of Corinth are extolled: every wind brings in and takes out.

I next adduce some new pieces of evidence. The conception of Agamemnon as overlord of Corinth, admittedly faint in the historical period, is implied in the story that Tenea was inhabited by Trojan captives *Ἀγαμέμνωνος δόντος*, Paus. ii. 5. 4. The separation of Argos from Corinth is implied in the story that Molione¹ claimed damages for Hercules' murder of the sons of Actor at Cleonae from *Argos* (Paus. v. 2. 2). This last point, the independence of Corinth and Argos in the heroic age, derives support from the recent excavations of the British School at Mycenae. We are told, but the evidence is not yet published, that while the hill of Mycenae originally was unfortified, at a later period a wall was built round it with various consequential changes. The date of this wall has been ascertained. As Mycenae changed hands between the Perseidae and Pelopidae, this wall must have been built by the latter; and if we ask why, what reason can be given except that Mycenae in their day had become a frontier town, facing an independent Argos, and that Mycenae now for the first time needed a defence for its tombs and treasures (the reason why the Atridae kept it) against the independent kingdom of Talaus or Sthenelus?

Confusion has been imported into the subject by the two names Corinth and Ephyra. It is hardly to be expected that excavation (and there is no other source) will identify the latter, and it is far from certain that there were two places corresponding to the two names. It may be worth while to collect the evidence. In Homer Corinth occurs twice (*B* 570, *N* 664); Ephyra in one passage (*Z* 152, 210) as the home of Sisyphus and Glaucus. By Pindar's time (*Ol.* xiii) the home of Sisyphus was Corinth. The fact that Corinth has only two mentions in the *Iliad* accounts for Simonides' verse (fr. 50) *Κορινθίοις δ' οὐ μέμφεται τὸ Ἴλιον* being taken by the Corinthians in an injurious sense (*Ar. Rhet.* 1363 a 16).

There were then two names, whether for exactly the same place or not, in the heroic period. One became extinct, and

¹ On the Molionidae see Farnell, *Hero Cults*, 207.

the other was used with the meaning of the first. The view (in Velleius i. 5, who does not name his source: it was perhaps Theopompus) that Ephyra was the sole heroic name and that Homer took Corinth from his own day was the consequence of antiquarian reflection on these circumstances.

The other Ephyrae, wherever they were, were not Corinth. That at B 659, on the Selleis, is shown to be Elean (and not Sicyonian) by the line *πέρσας ἄστυα πολλὰ διοτρεφέων αἰζήων* (660) of Hercules; this Hercules did in his campaign against Augeas (*Catalogue*, p. 82). The cuirass which saved Meges' life (O 529 sqq.) was taken away by his father Phyleus when he left the Elean Ephyra for Dulichium. The Odyssean Ephyrae (α 259, β 328) are Thesprotian, as was held by Apollodorus ii. 149 and ap. s ad l. c., Proxenus ἐν 'Ηπειρωτικοῖς ap. s (*F. H. G.* ii. 461) and Diodorus iv. 36, for the Pseudoulysses might stay at Taphos as between Ephyra and Ithaca, but not on a return from Corinth or Elis. There seems no record of *mauvaises herbes* at one Ephyra more than at another, but they would be more probably represented as out of Greece than in it. The owner of Taphos gave some to the Pseudomentes when Ilus refused (α 264). Ilus or Irus, the Epirote, owes his inclusion in the stock of Medea to the reputation of Ephyra.

s M 2 on α 259 identifies Ephyra with *βαγνερία*. Does this mean Egnatia, Gnathia? or is the name to be looked for under *Ἀγραιόι*, *Ἀγρίνιον*, where there was an *Ἐφύρα* (Strabo 338)? or does *βαγνερία* = *βαιερία*, *Ἐνετία*? In this case we should have an example of Byzantine topographical erudition which we find in Symeon, Genesius, and others. So far I do not know of an equation between Ephyra and Venice.

As to Agamemnon's possessions on the Gulf of Corinth, Pausanias vi. 26. 10 says the old boundary of Achaea and Elis was the Araxus; in this case the six Ionian towns, Rhypes, Patrae, Pharae, Olenus, Dyme, Tritaea (*Catalogue*, p. 63), if they existed, will have been Agamemnon's property, and 'all the aegialus' will have included them.

p. 67 sq. Agamemnon's nostos. Had he not been bound for Sparta, he would clearly have either landed at Cenchreae (where we now know there was an heroic port), or rather than face Malea, have dragged his ships across the isthmus as Nicetas

Oorypha did in the reign of Basil (Theoph. contin. 300. 7 sq.) : οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινε διὰ θαλάσσης τὴν Πελοπόννησον διελθεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦ Μαλέου κάμψας τὸ τῶν χιλίων μέτρων μῆκος ἀναμετρῆσασθαι. As Agamemnon did not do this he must have been making for Gythion or Helos. In favour of Sparta we notice that the decision to make war on Troy was taken at the Ἑλλήνιον in Sparta according to Paus. iii. 12. 6; Orestes' bones, *si tanti est*, were found at Tegea, not at Mycenae, Herod. i. 59.

As to Cythera to which the historians asserted Agamemnon was blown, we remember that Ulysses (ι 81) was blown near there, or there according to a *v. l.* Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 8. 7), fearing the disadvantageous situation of Pharae in Messina, retired and anchored in Cythera; and as to misfortunes on the rounding of Malea, which support the Homeric account, we have the ship sent by Ptolemy Soter to Sinope which was unintentionally carried to Malea and eventually to Cirra (Plut. *Mor.* 984 A sq.). In the opposite sense Aratus (Plut. *vit. Arat.* xii), starting from Methone (Modon) ἀνήχθη ὑπὲρ Μαλέας, and there meeting with wind and sea παραφερόμενος μῶλις ἤψατο τῆς Ἀδρίας (? Αἰγιαλίας *Agis et Cleomenes* 52),¹ whence he made Euboea. In Heliodorus iii. 17, on a voyage from Tyre to Carthage, people are carried from Malea to Cephalenia. Compare the nostos of the Phocians (Thuc. vi. 2. 3) driven first to Libya then to Sicily.

p. 71 sq. *Agamemnon's position.* Menelaus is represented by Paus. viii. 23. 4 as στρατὸν ἀθροίζων at Caphyae in Arcadia: the Ψωφίδιοι said they refused (id. viii. 24. 10), and Teuthis or Ornytus from Teuthis in Arcadia quarrelled with Agamemnon and removed his contingent (ib. 28. 4). The Tanagraean Poemander was besieged by the Achaeans at Stephon διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συστρατεύειν, Plut. *qu. gr.* 299 c. In the divine sphere the muster was Hera's work, Δ 28. How Homer conceived Agamemnon's position is clear from A, where his orders are carried out (ἀφέλεσθε 299): throughout the princes use plain language, but there is no disobedience.

p. 74. That the south part of the historical Messenia belonged to the Atridae seems suggested by the story in Paus. iii. 26. 7. Thetis came out of the sea at Cardamyle to see Pyrrhus when

¹ Or Σκανδίας, i. e. Σκανδείας?

he was on his way (*ἀπῆεί*) from Scyrus (25. 1) to Sparta to his wedding with Hermione. He had landed at Scyras within the gulf of Sparta (ib.).

p. 80, *Elis*. A learned correspondent argues that the Peneus, and not the Alpheus, was the southern boundary of Elis. Elis would therefore be considerably restricted, and, another consequence, Pisatis or the kingdom of Pisa, is unaccounted for. Its connexion with Pelops is well known.¹ Did the Pelopidae still hold it? The view in Strabo 355 is that the Pisatae did not take part in the Trojan war because they were *ἐπὶ τοῦ Διός*, as though they occupied their historical position.

Ionian Islands (p. 82 sqq.).

I have not seen any exception to my general account, and Professor Bury (*J. H. S.* 1922, 4) has accepted the identification of Dulichium with Leucas.² Hence I confine myself to additional evidence.

Meges: Phyleus, his father, appears in Hesiod, fr. 93. 4: he was a contemporary of Nestor, Ψ 637. Lesches in the *Iliu persis* (*Ilias parva*), fr. xiii, made him wounded (treacherously no doubt) by Admetus, son of Augeas; Polygnotus admitted him to the Lesche, Paus. x. 25. 5.

p. 84 n. Justin xxvi. 14 Epei as a *v. l.* = Eleans.

p. 83. A *Δολιχία* occurs in Syria, Theophanes 650. 16.

p. 86. The disappearance of Dulichium between the heroic and the Corinthian period may have been caused by the settlement of Acarnania by Amphilochus (Thuc. ii. 68): Dulichium-Leucas was vulnerable on the land side and it reverted to the continent till the Corinthians took it.

p. 88. The Lycian *Telebehi* is transliterated *τηλεφιος*, *τηλεφίανος* by Sundwall, *Klio* xiii. 200.

p. 89. Cephalus, eponym of Cephallenia, was son of Deion, a mid-Greek hero, and founded Cephallenia while assisting Amphitryon to reduce the Teleboae (Paus. i. 37. 6). These

¹ e.g. Paus. v. 1. 7 Pelops on Oenomaus' death took the Pisaea and Olympia.

² The mistake of adding Dulichium to Ulysses' possessions was, I see from the dictionary, made by the Latin poets as far back as Virgil and Ovid. They followed the antiquarian opinion current in their time.

stories of Theban expeditions to the West seem to show the manner in which the 'Ionian Islands' were subjugated by the 'Achaean': the north Peloponnese and the Boeotian peninsula provided their settlers. Zacynthos' mother city was according to Paus. viii. 24. 3 Psophis. As Πάλεια was the old name of Dyme (Paus. vii. 17. 6), Παλείς in Cephallenia may have been colonized from this place.

p. 92. The 'tempestuous weather' which not rarely causes a famine in Zante was felt by Luitprand, who notes that the sea off the mouth of the Achelous was rough (*Legatio*, &c., p. 369 E). Cf. Statius, *Theb.* ii. 730, 1.

Sir G. F. Bowen, author of the article 'Ithaca' in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography*, drew from his own book on the island 'Ithaca in 1850', London, 1851. He travelled there in that year. The sterility of Ithaca is exaggerated by Philostratus, *Heroic.* 309: it had μήτε ὄρας μήτε γῆν. On the other hand it bred enough beasts for Syracusans to steal them, Plut. *Mor.* 176 F, 557 c. Zacynthus was better for corn than horses, Simonides, fr. 15. All the islands were bad, Ithaca the worst, δ 608. Hence Menelaus thought Ulysses would have allowed himself to be moved to Sparta, δ 174: ἐπειράτο μὲν κατοικίσαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεά ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, Paus. iii. 20. 10. Icarus wished to keep him. On mediaeval Ithaca (Val di Compare) see Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 261 sqq.

p. 96. 'Homer thought Ithaca was on the further side of Cefalonia, west of it, and further out to sea.' The same results from φ 346:

οὗθ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,
οὗθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἥλιδος ἵπποβότοιο·

the other islands are more in the direction of Elis, i.e. SE., than Ithaca is. (The *v.l.* ναίουσι for νήσοισι is equivalent.) Hence perhaps how the ship from Thesprotia to Dulichium (§ 334 sq.) touched at Ithaca on her way; Ithaca was out to sea, and the ship before rounding Leucatas found it on her path.

The nautical sense of ὑπέρ hardly requires illustration: Paus. iv. 23. 5 Ζάκυνθον τὴν ὑπὲρ Κεφαλληνίας, v. 7. 3 Ortygia Θρινακίης καθ' ὑπερθεῖν, vii. 4. 1; ix. 11. 5, 22. 6.

p. 97. The instances of real West-Greek or Adriatic names in the *Odyssey* may be increased by the following:—

η 8 γρηὺς Ἀπειραΐη θαλαμηπόλος Εὐρυμέδουσα
τὴν ποτ' Ἀπείρηθεν νέες ἤγαγον ἀμφιέλισσαι.

The quantity $\tilde{\alpha}$ necessary in v. 9 makes the ancient (and modern) derivation from *ἡπειρος* absurd.¹ *Ἀπέρα* or *Ἀπεραΐα* is *Ἀπεραντία*. It is natural that household slaves should come from the non-Greek mainland; some slave dealer (such as *Ἔχετος*) conveyed them down the Achelous where ships picked them up.

Further the prophecy of the journey he has to take after the slaughter of the suitors (λ 121 sq.) resembles the description of the White Croats in Constantine Porphyrogenetus, *de administrando imperio* 151, 152: they are still unbaptized ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σαγῆνας κέκτηνται οὔτε κανδούρας οὔτε ἐμπορικὰ πλοῖα ὡς μηκόθεν οὔσης τῆς θαλάσσης· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείσε μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν λ'. Ulysses is to journey to a similar inland people, that is to Albania or Epirus. This was found by the ancients (s M 5 and Eust.) at *Βουνίμα* and *Κελκέα*, of which the former is stated by Stephanus (in *Βούνειμα* and *Τραμπύα*) to be near Trampya; with this name we approach reality, for Lycophron 799

μάντιν δὲ νεκρὸν Εὐρυτὰν στέψει λεὸς
ὃ τ' αἰπὺν ναίων Τραμπύας ἐδέθλιον
ἐν ᾗ ποτ' αὖθις Ἡρακλῆ φθίσει δράκων
Τυμφαῖος ἐν θοίναισιν Αἰθίων πρόμος

puts it among the more or less ascertained places Tymphaea, the Eurytanes, and the Aethices, namely among the mountains at the sources of the Peneus and the Aous. The two names Bunima and Celcea—as must have come from the *Telegonia* or its source the *Thesprotis* of Musaeus.

p. 101. Meriones is son of Molos, Plut. *Mor.* 417 E.

p. 102. The statement about Rhodes B 655

οἱ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες,
Λίνδον Ἰήλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον

668 τριχθὰ δὲ ᾤκηθεν καταφυλαδὸν ἥδ' ἐφίληθεν
ἐκ Διός,

¹ The derivation was objected to by an anonymus quoted by Apollonius, *adv.* 602. 19, but defended by Apollonius (603. 2).

which means that the settlers founded three communes or administrative districts with one town in each, has been read into an admission of the Dorian three-tribe principle and therefore of the Dorians. To what race then did the people of Syra belong, of whom we are told (o 412)

ἐνθα δὺν πόλεις, δίχα δέ σφισι πάντα δέδασται,

an expression as strong as διὰ τρία κοσμηθέντες? There was a double of everything in Syra, a treble in Rhodes. The size of the island presumably dictated these natural arrangements.

The Dorian three-tribe principle is a fetish handed on by historians. Non-Dorian peoples, Malians (Thuc. iii. 92), Aetolians (Thuc. iii. 94) had three tribes; Dorians had four πόλεις (Doris), eight tribes (Corinth), occasionally only one (Cydonia, Halicarnassus), four (Argos, Sicyon).¹ The island of Tenos enjoyed ten; but we are not told who colonized it. On the false interpretation by which Heracles Heraclidæ = Dorian, we have now the authoritative remarks of Mr. Farnell, *Hero Cults*, 103 sq., 119, 120, 122 (Rhodes and Cos).

p. 103. Nireus' death is recorded in Dictys iv. 17 at the hands of Eurypylus. He was son or eromenos of Hercules and helped to slay the Heliconian lion, Ptol. Heph. 147 b 12.

p. 104. One ancient view of the Cyclades (Plut. *Mor.* 603 B) was that the children of Minos inhabited them originally; later those of Codrus and Neleus. Philostratus, *Heroic.* 306, regards Philoctetes and Euneus as reducing them. They are clearly independent of Agamemnon in the *Iliad*.

Thessaly.

p. 107. 10. The frontiers of Thessaliotis and Phthiotis are given by Herodotus vii. 196, quoted *Cat.*, p. 112, n. 1: they lay between the Apidanus, which belonged to Achæa (Phthiotis), and the Onochonus, which belonged to Thessaly.² The former included Pharsalus as Strabo 480 says. *Ib.* 17 for 'Pelasgi'

¹ And what reason is there to suppose that the Dorian triple-tribe organization was local? The conventional series of inhabitants is given in Conon *διηγῆσεις* 141a 18: Heliadae, Phœnicians, Carians, Dorians.

² Phthiotis was bounded Ἀσωπῷ καὶ Ἐνιπεὶ δυσὶ ποταμοῖς, Conon *διηγ.* 135b 4 (is Ἀσωπῷ for Εὐρωπῷ?)

read 'Hellenes', as on p. 108. 9, omit 'a race which . . . Myrmidons'.

When Herodotus (i. 56) says that the Hellenes left Phthiotis and went to τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαίῳτιν, we have, as I remarked, a real contradiction to the usual Tricca-Histiaeotis. For Pausanias (ix. 8. 6) makes the dispossessed Boeoti, after the fall of Thebes, go to Illyria; those who did not, τραπόμενοι ἐς Θεσσαλοὺς καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὀμόλῃν. Apollodorus iii. 85, telling the same story, says Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ διελθόντες πόλιν Ἑστίαϊαν κτίσαντες κατόκησαν. That there was an Ἑστίαϊα near Olympus is stated by Stephanus in v. Now in Herodotus the Hellenic race in Hestiaeotis under Olympus ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείῳν. Therefore in the different versions of the Theban story Hestiaea and Hestiaeotis = Homole, and Homole the mountain and Homolion the town were in Magnesia. It is natural enough that there should be several Hestiaeas.¹ So the discrepancy between the two districts Hestiaeotis is confirmed.

p. 108. For the Pelasgi see pp. 120 sqq. in this book. The Hellenes originally inhabited Phthiotis (Herod. i. 56), next, according to the same author, they migrated to the Hestiaea under Ossa or Homole, as above. In Homer allusions and epithets represent them as in the Sperchean kingdom and in Locris. These were remnants who did not go north. The race was partly driven north, partly left near their old country, but subject to others, by the Aeolid dynasty of Protesilaus and Podarces.

ib. 23. In the quotation from Dionysius read βρόντησε for [ἐ]κρότησε. If in the line from Callimachus ἄργος is really masculine we may adduce the Latin parallel of Argi-os for the capital of Argolis.

p. 110. The view that the Μυρμιδόνων πόλις of the *Scutum* was Trachis I have recanted in this book (pp. 142 sqq.). A seventh Alope was at Ephesus (*An. Par.* iv. 108 ἡ καλουμένη Κλία). On the ambiguity of place-names (*Cat.*, p. 111) many oracles depended. A word somewhat resembling the Κυλικρῆνες at Trachis is Καλλικύριοι (Timaeus, fr. 56, Aristotle ἐν Συρακουσίῳν πολιτείᾳ, fr. 544), slaves at Syracuse.

¹ e. g. in Euboea: a deme at Athens.

p. 113. On the Boeotian Eleon, which serves to define the heroic Hellas, see Plutarch, *qu. graec.* 301 A, Paus. i. 29. 6. It bordered on Tanagra. The learned Statius was right, *Thebais* x. 514 'cadit intra moenia *Grainus* | Ormenus et pronas tendentis Amyntoris ulnas', &c.

The Aenianes in the Spercheus-valley though ἐπήλυδες considered themselves ἀκριβῶς 'Ελληνικόν according to Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* ii. 44, and sent sacrifices to Neoptolemus at Delphi. Their ἐξάρχων claimed descent from him. It follows that they knew that the country where they lived was the Pelasgic argos, kingdom of the Aeacidae. They did not agree with the Thessalian nobility. On the wanderings of the Aenianes see p. 346.

Protesilaus, &c. The genealogy of this dynasty is found as far back as the Νόστοι, fr. 4. Clymene, daughter of Minyas, married Cephalus, son of Deion. Iphiclus, their son, owned Phylace, λ 290, and obtained a place on the chest of Cypselus, Paus. v. 17. 10. Another line (Achaeus, Phthius, Archander, and Architeles) appears in Herodotus ii. 98, Paus. ii. 6. 5, vii. 1. 6. According to a story in Conon διηγ. 133 a 3, Protesilaus did not fall, but founded Scione on his return.

p. 114. Perea is further supported by Πιραεῖς at Megara, Plutarch, *qu. gr.* 295 B. The Oxyrhynchus scholiast on Thuc. ii. 22 derived Πειράσιοι in Thucydides from Perea.

p. 121. Pelion is not alone as a place-name, cf. Πήλη, an island opposite Clazomenae, Thuc. viii. 31, and Πήλι near Cerinthus (see the map in *I. G.* xii. 9). Compare also a place called τυδεια, ib. 1189, vv. 16, 29. This does not bring Tydeus or Tydides on the scene.

p. 122. Tricca and Trikkala are identified by § P 12 on B 729: ἄρτι Τρίκαλα καλουμένην (*An. Par.* iii. 200). The MS. is s. xiv.

p. 123. A few more details are available on Eurypylus. The *Pias parva*, fr. 16, said that he killed Axion, son of Priam, in the sack of Troy. His dynasty was cut short, Paus. ix. 41. 2, and according to one of two stories in the same author, vii. 19. 6 sq., he did not return to Thessaly, but settled in Achaea, i. e. at Patrae, where heroic honours were rendered to him yearly. He may have been a Diomedes. Titane occurs in Sicynia, Paus.

ii. 11. 5, vii. 23. 8; Asterion is a river in Argolis, Paus. ii. 17. 1, and the old name of Cithaeron, Plut. *de fluv.* ii. 2.

As to Ormenion (p. 125), my anonymous reviewer (*J. H. S.* lxii, part 1) has noticed the name of a station on the Velestino-Fersala line (map in Murray's *Greece*), Orman-maghoula, two hours from Scotussa, and suggests that it may be an echo, through a mental process resembling Volksetymologie, of Ormenion. The same idea had occurred to me. The site would then more or less correspond to Pharsalus. Orman in Turkish means forest or thicket. In the lines *K* 266, 267, quoted on p. 126, the sense is *τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος, πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο*, 'gen. after δόμον' (Leaf).

p. 128. To the case of common nouns or adjectives used as names of rivers we may add *Ποῦς* at Megara, Paus. i. 41. 2, *Αἰανίς* at Opus, Strabo 425, *ἄνδειρος* (= *ὄχετός*, Plut. *Mor.* 650c) in the Troad (*Cat.*, p. 151), *Γλυκεῖαι*, Paus. vii. 27. 4.

p. 129. The position of the Aethices is defined by Marsyas, fr. 6, as *μέσον τῆς Τυμφαίας καὶ Ἀθαμανίας*; cf. also Theopompus in the 39th of the *Philippica* (fr. 239). This shows the name was still alive. In clearing Pelion of them the Lapithae had the assistance of Nestor (*A* 263), that is Mycenaean help.

Ὀλοσσόνος appears as a genitive in Theognostus 32. 6, *τὸ δὲ λοσῶν πόλις* occurs Arcadius 15. 14 Barker, *Ἑλασῶνι* in Psellus (Migne, vol. 122, p. 853 B *αὐτὸς ἐπόπτης τε καὶ αὐτήκοος ἐν Ἑλασῶνι γέγονα*).

Guneus (p. 130 sqq.).

Κῶφος as I said is unknown: as a coincidence the *κυφανοί*, north of Pharsalos (*I. G.* ix, pt. 2, 400) should be mentioned. *Γούνεως* (gen. *Γούνεω*), father of Laonome, wife of Alcaeus, occurs also in Paus. viii. 14. 3, where it appears that Guneos lived at Pheneos. This supports the name. The ethnic of *Γόννος* is said by Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 237, 238, to be *Γοννάτας*, for which compare *Ὀνάτας*, Paus. x. 13. 10. The father's name *Ὠκύτης* occurs in Herodotus viii. 5 and 59, *Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου*. Dictys iii. 14 has Guneus killed in battle after the death of Patroclus.

The early wanderings of the Aenianes or Enienes are curious and uncertain. Their first appearance in history is in this passage, as inhabitants of Dodona. Plutarch, however, in two different chapters of the *Aetia Graeca* (13 and 26) asserts that their first home was in the Dotian plain, whence ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ Λαπιθῶν εἰς Αἰθίκας (περὶ τὴν Αἰθακίαν, c. 26). This is the story of the φῆρες in Homer *B* 744 (τοὺς δ' ἐκ Πηλίου ὥσε καὶ Αἰθίκεσσι πέλασσαν). The φῆρες are usually identified with the Centaurs, but they may of course, both φῆρες and Centaurs, equally well be Aenianes.¹ Cynaethus also (*h. Apoll.* 216 sq.) makes Apollo proceed from Olympus to Iolcus by Lecton (unknown), the Aenianes and the Perrhaebians—the latter two in the wrong order for metrical convenience. In the eighth century, therefore, they were there, as the Perrhaebians were at Larissa. What we are to do with Plutarch's story is not clear (he gives no source): it is not inconceivable that the heroic Lapithae cleared these people out and drove them to Pindus (speaking generally); but their permanent movement, like that of all the Thessalian tribes, was started by the Dorian entrance from Thesprotia. They found a resting place in the Dotian plain, south of the Perrhaebians, and afterwards went on to the Spercheus (where they are in history), whether directly or, as in Plutarch's story, by way of Molossia and Cassopaea, and thence to Cirrha.

p. 134, n. 1. The epithet ἀργυροειδής has the sense of 'clear' in Lucian, *Dial. marin.* 3. 2 οἶδα οὐκ ἄμορφον . . . τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν, ἀλλὰ διαυγής τέ ἐστι καὶ διὰ καθαροῦ ἀναβλύζει καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιπρέπει ταῖς ψηφίσιν ὅλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαινόμενον ἀργυροειδές. Julian, ep. 194, interprets the epithet: "Ὁμηρος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς τὸν τε ἄργυρον αἰγλήεντα λέγει καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀργύρεον ὀνομάζει, καθάπερ ἡλίου καθαφαῖς ἀκτίσιν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς εἰκόνης φαιδρῷ μαρμαρύσσον. In Pausanias vii. 23. 1 there is a πηγή Ἀργυρᾶ in Achaea.

p. 135. Other milky streams are found in Pausanias: iii. 24. 7 κρήνη . . . διὰ τὴν χροίαν τοῦ ὕδατος καλουμένη Γαλακώ

¹ The same story apparently, with yet another name, occurs in *Diod.* v. 61. 1 of Triopas: εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τοῖς Δευκαλίανος παισὶ καὶ συνεκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Θετταλίας τοὺς Πελασγοὺς καὶ μερίσασθαι τὸ καλούμενον Δῶτιον πεδῖον.

(καγακώ codd.), ix. 34. 4 πηγαὶ γυναικὸς μαστοῖς εἰσὶν εἰκασμένοι, καὶ ὅμοιον γάλακτι ὕδωρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνείσιν.

p. 141. A protest against the historical view of the heroic Thessaly is to be found of all places in Philostratus, *Heroic*. 310 = 712: ταχθῆναι γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν φησιν ὁ Πρωτεσίλεως ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Μυρμιδόνas οὕτως ὀνομασθῆναι πάντας Θετταλοῦς.

p. 143, 4. The heading 'The Trojan Catalogue' is out of place.

*The Trojan Catalogue.*¹

p. 150. Aristobulus (*Serr. rer. Alex. fr.* 3, p. 97) makes Achilles kill Trambelos, king of the Leleges, at Miletus, apparently in a raid, which Aristobulus extended to this incredible distance.

Philostratus, *Heroic*. 298, refused to believe in the landing in Teuthrania; but the same thing was, as I mentioned p. 332, asserted of the Argives even on their return, Paus. i. 28. 9.

p. 153 (Teutamios). Cephalion ap. Euseb. *Chron.* i. 63 calls him a Mede: in answer to Priam's letter he sent Memnon, son of Tithonus, to his assistance: ib. 65 we find Teutamios or Tautamus king of Assyria. In later times the name occurs as that of a leader of ἀργυράσπιδες, Plut. *Eumenes* 13.

To the list of oriental names add Ἀτύμνιος II 317, 'Οτρυντεύς T 384: and see Mrs. McCurdy, *J. H. S.* 1919, 62, *C. Q.* 1923, 50.

p. 154. For Axios = Vardar add s Thuc. ii. 99. Justin vii. 1. 5 makes Asteropaeus son of Pelegonus: he perhaps read B 848 a.

p. 156 sq. B 853-5 not read by Eratosthenes and Apollodorus. I did not suppose that Mr. Leaf would sit down under the loss of his phantom Paphlagonian fleet, the red mercurial sulphide, and his Troy at the centre of the trade-routes. I confess I did not foresee his defence. He advances two pleas: one that Eratosthenes and Apollodorus found Cyturus, Sesamus, the river Parthenius, Cromna, Aegialus, and Erythini in their texts, but did not know that they were on the coast: the second

¹ Compare Phythian-Adams, 'Hittite and Trojan Allies', *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, Bulletin No. 1, 1922.

that additions to the text were not made during this period, as he says 'between Apollodorus and Strabo'. We will consider the subject.

(1) Let us begin with Apollodorus, as the junior. Apollodorus, it is well known, in his work on the *Catalogue* copied Demetrius of Scepsis (παρ' οὗ τὰ πλεῖστα μεταφέρει Strabo 339). Demetrius, being an Asiatic and living in the second century B. C., must have been acquainted with the geography of the Euxine. He is quoted by Strabo 550 on the Alybes. Strabo 544, without giving his authority, says that Amastris, niece of Alexander's Darius, synoecized Sesamus, Cytorus, and Cromna into the town of Amastris on the site of Sesamus. The three therefore, Sesamus, Cytorus, and Cromna, were in existence in the fourth century B. C. (and Cytorus and also the river Parthenius have kept their names, Kidros and Bartan). Moreover (Strabo 543), Zenodotus identified 'Ενετή (which he read rather than 'Ενετοί) with Amisus: and Ephorus (ib. 544) derived Cytorus from Cytorus, son of Phrixus. Aegialus, says Strabo, was a coast village in his own day. In the fourth century Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander in his campaigns, dealt with the Parthenius, fr. 27, 28, the Halizones, fr. 29, and inserted the Caucones into this very passage, fr. 28. His περίπλους is quoted fr. 39, 40. Further, Hellanicus and even Hecataeus are quoted on the Amazons further to the east (ib. 550). How then can it be for a moment maintained that Apollodorus, who wrote a work on the *Catalogue*, absorbed the earlier work of Demetrius and was conversant with the erudition of the fourth and fifth centuries on these places, was unaware that the Paphlagonian towns quoted in the *Iliad* were on the sea, especially since he himself (Strabo 553) quoted Zenodotus and Hecataeus for their opinions on 'Ενετή.

To assume ignorance in Eratosthenes is even more extraordinary. Eratosthenes' merits as a scientific geographer are notorious: 'in order to be able to determine the accurate site of each place he drew a line parallel with the equator, running from the pillars of Hercules to the extreme east of Asia, and dividing the whole of the inhabited earth into two halves. Connected with this work was a new map of the earth, in which towns, mountains, rivers, lakes, and climates were

marked according to his own improved measurements' (L. Schmitz in Smith). And in Strabo 68, where this *πίναξ* is described, he takes *τοὺς περὶ Ἀμνισὸν ἢ Σινώπην τόπους* as one of his measured distances. These two geographers and commentators said that Homer only knew the interior of Paphlagonia, *τὴν παραλίαν δ' ἀγνοεῖν*.¹ Mr. Leaf asserts that 'they had the lines, but did not know that the towns named in them were maritime' (*C. R.* 1922, 55).

(2) And now let us give Mr. Leaf a case of the 'addition of a couplet to the vulgate between Apollodorus and Strabo'. Providence does not allow Apollodorus' name to appear very often, so we must say 'between the Alexandrian period and Strabo'. Here are two couplets which I gave Mr. Leaf in my book (p. 158):

δ 285-9 *οὐκ ἐφέροντο σχεδὸν ἐν πάσαις ε*. All MSS. have them.

Other pairs,

Τ 269-72 *ἐν ἐνίοις οὐδὲ ἐφέροντο ε*. In all our MSS.

α 356-9 *ἐν ταῖς χαριεστέραις γραφαῖς οὐκ ἦσαν ε*. All MSS.

τ 130-3 *ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις οὐκ ἐφέροντο ε*. All MSS.

τ 388-91 *ath. Ar. οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἦσαν ε*. All MSS.

There are many more of the same kind, collected in a somewhat miscellaneous way by Ludwich, *A. H. T.* i. 118 sqq. I said (p. 157) 'a reading unrecognized by Eratosthenes might have propagated itself during the next hundred years or so, and

¹ Sayce, *J. H. S.* 1923, 48, remarks: 'The high-road of trade and war ran across the central plateau of Asia Minor from Garsaura to Antioch of Pisidia and Prymnessos . . . the maritime route along the north coast of Asia Minor did not exist in the Homeric period . . . and the cuneiform texts make it equally clear that the northern portion of the Anatolian peninsula was but little known in Hittite times, and was the home of barbarous tribes. The two routes from east to west were the central one across the plateau and the sea-route of the Mediterranean', and again (*Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, 1923, 395) 'Hittite culture can be traced from Cappadocia to the Aegean along the central plateau of Asia Minor, by Archelais (Garsaura) and Tyana-Iconium in the south and Ankyra and the Sangarios in the north, to the lands of the Hermos and Maeander; there are no traces of it along the line of the Black Sea. The navigation of the Black Sea belongs to the later Phrygian age'.

have gained a place in the edition, probably commercial, floated, perhaps at Rome, before Strabo's day'. One particular passage I assume to have been added to the *Catalogue* before the Alexandrian period by some one, I do not know who, interested in Asia Minor and conversant with epic literature, perhaps e.g. Callisthenes (or Ephorus?). Accident, and the loss of scholia on *B* in the Townley MS., have lost the critical notice of the lines; but Eratosthenes clearly did not read them. They may have been current in his day, beginning to make their way into the ordinary text: by Strabo's day they were everywhere. Mr. Leaf knows all this; or has oblivion begun to scatter her poppy?

p. 158. Pelops is 'Ενετήιος, i. e. Paphlagonian, Ap. Rhod. ii. 358. Casos is in Crete to Libanius, *or.* xii. 52.

p. 159, line 6 from the bottom, read 'filii Minui Dictys ii. 35'.

p. 160, n. 1. Add σ ω 304 (Ἀλύβας = Metapontum), Hellanicus in Steph. in v. According to Pachymeres (i. 310. 6, ii. 191. 2 al.) Alybe was in Paphlagonia on the Sangarius.

p. 161. On the Amazons see Justin ii. 4. 1 sqq.

p. 164, n. 2. Add Archilochus, fr. 54 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων (γύρεον γυρεὸν γυρεῶν auctores); Γυρόν an old name of mount Calydon, Plut. *de flux.* 22. 4. Γυγαίη was sister to Alexander of Macedon, Herod. v. 21, viii. 136.

p. 165. I have not yet induced an archaeologist to give me a satisfactory reason why Homer does not call Sardis by its name.

p. 166. Dictys i. 18 represents that Sarpedon was thought of as a Greek ally—owing doubtless to the connexion of the dynasties of Corinth and Lycia.

p. 176. Dictys ii. 8 and 10, 16, 17 conceives of trade between the Hellespont and Greece being conducted in the heroic age by 'Scythians'.

p. 178. To the historical cases of wars occasioned by women we may add that between the Crisaeans and Phocians (Callisthenes, fr. 18) and the case of Segesta and Selinus, Thuc. vi. 6, and even the Sacred War, as though the ἀσέβεια of the Phocians and the bloodthirstiness of Thebes were not sufficient motive: see Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 3. 4, Duris, fr. 2 (the ἐπὶ κληρος who lighted the flame was Theano). Mr. Chadwick gives Northern parallels, l. c., pp. 97, 98, 296, 338.

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